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"PARENTS ON THE MOVE": A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF A SELF-HELP
ORGANIZATION OF HOMELESS PARENTS

A Dissertation Presented

by

GLORIA GASPER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September, 1991

School of Education

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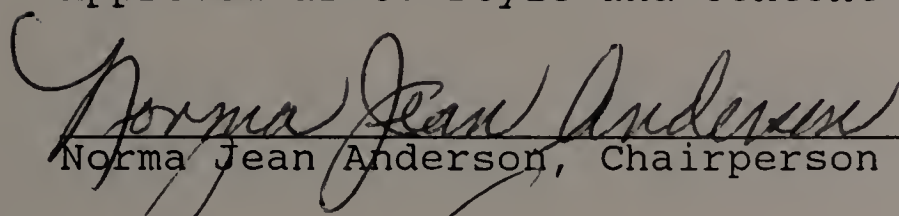
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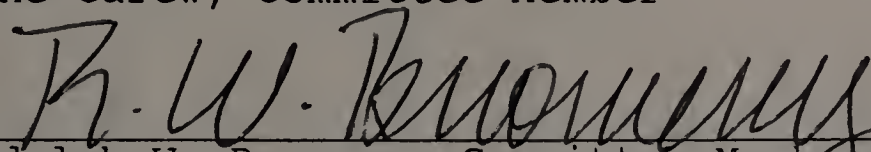
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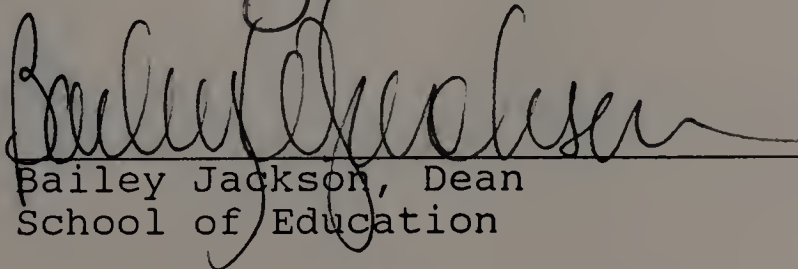
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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my parents, Jesse and Elsie Knox, who gave me my right of passage; to my sister Annette, who taught me the meaning of street knowledge; to my sister Jacqueline, my first role model; to my grandmother, Gladys Knox; and to my daughter Janeé, who will hopefully see this as a means of gaining access to the system. I thank God for her gift of life because it became necessary to attain more knowledge as my role of parent became more apparent.

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I also wish to thank the members of Parents on the Move who took the time to share their experiences of homelessness with me. My deep appreciation is extended to executive director, Mr. E. Massenburg, and the board members of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Early Childhood Development Center Headstart; Mr. J. Slattery, who represented the management of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel; and all the agencies that were a part of the Social Service Coalition.

I wish to express my thanks for the support of my friends Robert (Bob) Payne, Vincent Davis, Esq., and Donna Duckett; my uncles William (Billy) Knox, Walter Knox, and Robert (Bob) Knox; my aunts, Ollie Boggs and Tenner Boggs; and my nieces, nephews, and my great nephew.

ABSTRACT

"PARENTS ON THE MOVE": A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF A SELF-HELP ORGANIZATION OF HOMELESS PARENTS

SEPTEMBER 1991

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Given the growing homeless population of men, women and children in temporary housing, the researcher was interested in focusing on determining whether a grass roots organization called "Parents on the Move" was perceived by its population as a success or failure.

The research paradigm that was used to conduct this study was qualitative. The study participants were interviewed in-depth and were tape recorded. Profiles of the participants were constructed. Themes, and metaphors and symbols were catalogued and coded, and then constructed into a narrative around the basic questions on which the study was based. Tables were constructed presenting frequencies and distributions on background variables and

responses to the questions listed above. The major findings of the study were that the leaders defined the organization as successful, even though different individuals defined success in quite different terms. The organization was successful in making people feel good about themselves and their homeless situation. It provided support to the residents and helped improve conditions at the hotel. These accomplishments instilled in the participants the courage to handle problems on their own. It is less clear whether POM, through its protests and efforts, caused the closing of the hotel and the successful placement of the residents in permanent housing.

It was also found that POM consisted of two quite different constituencies: those who were politically committed and willing to engage in social action to better their lives and those who were not politically active, who wanted to make sure that they received their social services. For those who were the more politicized, POM was a greater success than for those who were not. When the hotel was closed, many of the less politicized parents were nostalgic about life in the hotel, since services were provided on site.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Homelessness has become one of the major issues facing the nation. In New York City, this growing population of people can generally be found sleeping in the subway, Port Authority, and on subway gratings. They may be panhandlers on the busy street corners. This population is a constant visual reminder to passers by that there is a growing population of hungry, unhoused men, women, and children.

The problem of homelessness is national. The causes are linked directly to economic and social policy (Kummefeld, 1987). Homeless people are found throughout the country, in rural and urban areas (Kozol, 1988). Many working poor families, families receiving public assistance, and single, lower socioeconomic people are finding it difficult to keep a roof over their heads as developers are converting rental apartments into condominiums and cooperatives in New York City, and low income housing is becoming less available. The band-aide approach to this homeless problem is temporary housing (Young, 1988).

One of the City of New York's many temporary housing facilities is the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. The hotel is located

at 268 Ashland Place in Brooklyn, New York. The Brooklyn Arms Hotel, formerly known as the Granada Hotel, was once one of the most elegant hotels in downtown Brooklyn. The Brooklyn Academy of Music, which is across the street from the hotel, is the landmark which reminds one of this history. The patrons of the academy are oftentimes harassed by hotel residents, particularly school-age children begging for money. The hotel is reputed to be one of the most dangerous welfare hotels in the city (Kramer, 1989).

The residents of this welfare hotel are generally serviced by various federal, state and city organizations. The network of support organizations in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel was called the Social Service Coalition. The organizations that composed the coalition included the Angel Guardian Home, Bedford Stuyvesant Early Childhood Development Center, Colony South Brooklyn Houses, Human Resources Administration Crisis Intervention Services, New York City Department of Health, New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Hotel Services--Brooklyn Arms Hotel, South Brooklyn Health Center, the Victims Services Agency, and Parents on the Move (POM), a grass roots organization of homeless persons, which is the focus of this study.

Many families arrived at this hotel as a result of some disruption in their lives. Many lost their possessions and were not familiar with this borough of the city. They

became a part of the homeless population. Meanwhile these displaced persons were without political or economic power, and were living in temporary housing.

The POM organization started in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. It was founded by members of the homeless families living in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. It was organized as a means of fighting for their rights to live in decent affordable housing (Young, 1988). POM was a new approach to dealing with the housing problem in New York City. The POM was based on the concepts of empowerment and self-help that were perceived as necessary vehicles for assertion of their rights to affordable housing. The primary need of the homeless is adequate and affordable housing (Molnar, 1988).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the organization of a homeless group of residents living in temporary housing in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel by studying those who are developing and applying its goals and objectives. Given the growing homeless population of men, women and children in temporary housing, this researcher was interested in focusing on determining whether the grass roots organization "Parents on the Move" was perceived by its population as a success or failure.

Research Questions

Questions of interest to this study included, but are not limited to, the following:

- 1) Who are the homeless?
- 2) What do they think are the underlying assumptions concerning homelessness? How do the homeless define homelessness?
- 3) How did the homeless become homeless?
- 4) What are homeless people's experiences as homeless persons?
- 5) What do they think is the solution to the problem of homelessness?
- 6) What kinds of problems do grass roots organizations such as POM have in institutionalizing themselves?

Parents on the Move

Parents on the Move was a grassroots organization founded by a social worker employed by the Colony South Brooklyn Houses with a group of parents residing at the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. The organization's motto was "children are the reward of life."

The organization served as an advocacy group for the families living in temporary housing at the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. They defended residents' rights when they thought management had abrogated them. They were vocal advocates for social justice in the community and respected by local

politicians. They met with local politicians when necessary to protect their rights. They also conducted voter registration drives, attended local PTA meetings, sponsored outings for homeless children and youth, conducted a toy drive at Christmas, and organized tutoring programs. They believed that empowering themselves would change their plight.

Documentation of the activities of POM are found in the appendices. Appendix A contains a welcome letter to parents from the hotel, Appendix B contains an orientation check list. Appendix C contains the rules and regulations of the hotel, Appendix D contains a hotel room assessment survey, Appendix E contains Social Services Coalition goals and priorities, Appendix F contains a legislative history of issues related to homelessness, and Appendix G contains press releases promulgated by POM.

The Research Paradigm

The research paradigm that was used to conduct this study is qualitative. The qualitative data provided the researcher with direct quotations from the informants about their experiences, beliefs, attitudes and thoughts. Because the purpose of this study is to analyze the self-perceptions of homeless people about their actions in founding and developing a grass-roots organization around their interests in improving their housing situation, a qualitative

methodology was selected. The advantages of qualitative interviewing were stated by Taylor and Bogdan (1984) as:

By in-depth qualitative interviewing we mean repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words. The in-depth interview is modeled after a conversation between equals, rather than a formal question-and-answer exchange. Far from being a robot-like data collector, the interviewer, not an interview schedule or protocol, is the research tool. The interviewer relies exclusively on second-accounts from others. (p. 78)

The in-depth interviewing type that is most useful for this proposed study

is directed toward learning about events and activities that cannot be observed directly. In this type of interviewing the people being interviewed are informants in the truest sense of the word. They act as the researcher's observes, his or her eyes and ears in the field. As informants their role is not simply to reveal their own views, but to describe what happens and how others viewed it. (Taylor and Bogdan 1984, p. 78-79)

In-depth interviewing the researcher establishes rapport with informants through repeated contacts over time and develop a detailed understanding of their experiences and perspectives. The use of the qualitative method through a holistic inductive analytical process will allow findings and conclusions to emerge from the data (Patton, 1980; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

Limitations

All studies have inherent limitations. The limitations of this study involve the use of qualitative research.

The phenomenologist's ability views human behavior, what people say and do as a product of how people define their world. The task of the phenomenologist and, for us the qualitative methodologists, is to capture this process of interpretation. As we have emphasized, the phenomenologist attempts to see things from other people's point of view. (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, pp. 8-9)

The approach of inquiry for this study is qualitative research. The limitations of this study are influenced by the skills and insights of the researcher in collecting the data as the primary tool for gathering the data and recognizing bias as what people say is the major source of qualitative data. Another limitation of qualitative research is influenced by the researcher's intuition and insight when analyzing data inductively (Patton, 1980).

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) cite some of the drawbacks of interviewing studies:

First--as a form of conversation, interviews can project (a) fabrication, (b) deceptions, (c) exaggeration (d) distortions

Second--people respond differently in various settings--the person might not believe what he/she is saying in a different setting from the interview situation "people's words and deeds"

Third--interviewers generally do not observe people in their everyday setting, they may not know or understand the context of any given

perspective, they might not understand the language. (p. 81)

Significance of the Study

The homeless people of New York City are difficult to count and their circumstances difficult to describe. The following is excerpted from a description of the homeless in Washington, DC:

In Washington, families are sent to The Pitts Hotel when they have nowhere to go. Its chief characteristic is noise. Children are running around and shrieking. Adults are yelling at one another, cursing, quarreling. Doors are slamming. The quietest person in sight is the uniformed guard who silently patrols the lobby and the corridors with a loaded pistol hanging from her hip. Dorcas Robinson, 37 years old and the mother of two, was sitting on a chair in a corner in the lobby. She and a friend named Douglas Davis were talking. Davis was holding his sleeping 4-year-old daughter, Serena, on his lap. "I have to laugh every time I hear about the so-called prosperity of the Reagan era," Robinson said. "I wish President Reagan had come over here. This would have been something to see. It's so easy nowadays to end up homeless." Davis said more black people should vote. Robinson said the owner of the Pitts drives a Rolls Royce. Both said they wish George Bush the best, but they were skeptical about Republicans. The purpose of exploring homelessness from the experience of persons who were formally homeless is significant." (Daily News, January 24, 1989).

Understanding homelessness from the assumptions and experiences of those who were homeless is significant. This study has implications for government, community agencies, human services, and educational organizations in need of assistance in delivering service to the homeless. This

study will enrich our understanding of the plight of the homeless and their adjustment back into the mainstream of society. It will certainly help us refocus our views about homeless people. The organization "Parents on the Move" is the first organizing grass roots group of homeless people helping themselves and each other during their transition period living in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. This study will fill in some of the gaps in the literature concerning homelessness and self-help.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this section is to summarize the literature about homelessness: the history of homelessness, theoretical positions, and assumptions. This section will provide a framework to discuss homelessness, grass roots organizations, and provide a foundation for this proposed investigation.

Historical Perspective

The literature generally reflects the labels and meanings society has attached to persons without permanent homes. These labels include tramps, vagrants, hobos, wanderers, and more recently, "the homeless" (see Glossary in Appendix H for definitions). This portion of society can be traced back centuries, as early as the 1600's. Recent literature states that this target population became a social problem during the 1840s and 1850s. Kusmer (1988) reviewed a profile of a sample of men and women convicted of vagrancy between 1874-1875. The findings indicated that the vagrant population was a diverse group of men and women.

Some were literate and many were skilled. The purpose of the study was:

To provide an overview of the emergence of a much enlarged homeless population between 1865 and the 1930s and to indicate something of the response of society to it. Although tramps and vagrants were considered deviants by many, it is the thesis of this author that they were in fact the natural result of a virtually unregulated capitalist economy in transition from an agricultural system to an urban industrial one. It is the failure of most Americans to understand this, and the destruction of the society of small capitalists and farmers that would result from the triumph of industrialism, that led to this harshly negative stereotypes about the new homeless poor in the 1870s and 80s. (Kusmer, 1988, p. 21)

Addams (1960) stated that the bitter poverty and social maladjustment was distressing. In September of 1889 in Chicago, she opened Hull-House, which was the beginning of the Settlement House movement. The residents of Hull-House were the underprivileged and oppressed. Addams soon came to realize that change was linked to politics. She was active in labor legislation, housing, sanitation and woman suffrage.

Rothman (1988) stated that the homeless problem in New York City could be traced to the Almshouse population:

Beginning in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and continuing right up through World War II, the division between neighbor and stranger weakened but never disappeared. It was replaced with a distinction between the "worthy" and the "unworthy" poor. With this orientation, the central element in poor relief became the Almshouse, and its "door" marked the difference between the worthy and the unworthy. The worthy were eligible for outdoor relief, that is, town funds or charitable support which would be given

to them at home. The unworthy were to receive indoor relief, that is, inside the door of the Almshouse. Accordingly, New York between 1820 and 1850 transformed its policies. In 1824 only 30 counties in a sample of 130 maintained Almshouses; by 1835, every one but four of the state's 55 counties ran a poorhouse. In 1830, some 4,500 persons in the state were Almshouse inmates. By 1850 the figure stood close to 10,000 (p. 12).

The target population consisted of disconnected persons, such as those released from mental hospitals, mothers with children without the support of their families, illegal aliens, and people who were alcoholics and drug addicts.

The plight of homeless men in Chicago during the years 1921 and 1922 was the focus of a study of 400 tramps conducted by Anderson (1923) that focused on the following:

1. Seasonal work and employment;
2. Industrial inadequacy;
3. Defects of personality;
4. Crisis in the lives of the men;
5. Racial or national discrimination;
6. Wanderlust.

Billingsley (1968) found that the impact of migration was completely different for the African Negro to the New World, compared to the movement of the Italian, Irish, or German immigrants. The norms of the European immigrants were familiar because the European genesis with its culture and ways of life were acceptable in the New World. On the other hand the African Negro was brought to the New World as

a slave and their entire kinship system was dismantled. The slaves were bred as if they were cattle.

Frazier (1966) stated that the Negro became a part of a wandering population as the emancipation process came into effect as a result of the Civil War, due to the need for work as economic conditions in the south changed. In 1879, people migrated from Mississippi through Kansas and to the West and from rural areas to cities in the Northern States. In 1936 a study was conducted in a Chicago homeless shelter in which 10% of the client population were colored men. The findings were as follows:

1. A large proportion of 115 cases reported family disorganization, men left home at age 16, having only obtained a 4th grade education, migrated from farms and villages in the heart of the Black Belt.
2. Migrated within their own state, then interstate, finally to the Northern states.
3. Employment consisted of waiters and pullman porters.
4. Fifty-two percent reported being married, three-fourths deserted their families. (p. 219)

A study conducted by Congress of the "Great Depression" showed at least five million people migrating from state to state looking for employment and housing in 1937. The homelessness of today is simply a paradox of prosperity. Many people living in shelters are the working poor. The amount of homeless people is difficult for the 100th Congress to record. It seems, however, to range from one

quarter of a million to three million people. Observations seem to imply that homelessness is increasing (Wasem, 1988).

Research on Homeless Populations

Kummerfeld (1987), writing for the Mayor's Advisory Task Force on the Homeless, stated:

New York City is legally obligated to shelter homeless men, women, and families with children. Mayoral policy also mandates that every homeless person who needs it will be supplied with shelter. The obligation to shelter men was embodied in a 1981 consent decree in a legal action entitled Callahan v. Carey, Index no. 42582/79 (Supreme Court, New York County). The Callahan decree provides that all eligible homeless men must be given shelter and board. To be eligible, a man must either meet the standard of eligibility for home relief benefits, or be in need of temporary shelter due to physical, mental or social dysfunction. The decree specifies certain physical requirements that must be met in providing shelter, including minimal square footage for dining, leisure, and sleeping facilities, and a minimum of one toilet for every ten residents and one shower for every fifteen residents. Subsequent court decisions, Eldredge v. Koch, 98 A.D. 2d, 675 (1st Dept. 1988) and McCain v. Koch 117 A.D. 2d. 198 (1st Dept. 1986) extended the right to shelter to single homeless women and families with children. (pp. 21-22)

Kummerfeld further stated that the "welfare hotels" that are privately owned, house 75% of the homeless families in New York City. The families are squeezed into small rooms without cooking facilities for 18 months or more.

Concepts and Theories Related to Homelessness

Social Welfare

The emergence of an identifiable social category of "homeless people" during the booming economy of the 1980s can be directly attributable to decisions made in Washington, DC. The Reagan Administration's decision to remove the Federal Government from involvement in housing, leaving the building of housing to the private sector and allowing massive corruption within the Department of Housing and Urban Development succeeded in reducing the availability of affordable housing for the poor. In addition, with the weakening of social welfare benefits, the suppression of the minimum wage level, the decline of block grants to states and cities, and the general hostility of Washington to the needs of the poor has resulted in pushing people who were marginal into the streets. Because of the overtly political nature of the origins of the modern homeless, political perspectives on homelessness will be reviewed.

Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965), have written about conceptions of social welfare. They concluded in their analysis the following major traits describing the social welfare structure in America:

1. Formal organization
2. Social sponsorship and accountability
3. Absence of profit motive as dominant program purpose

4. Functional generalization: integrative, rather than segmental, view of human needs.
5. Direct focus on human consumption needs (p. 146)

The authors' conceive of the social welfare system in the United States as a residual formation, based on the assumption that an individual has two "natural" channels to meet their basic human needs: the family and the market economy. When these structures are not able to satisfy the basic needs, it is usually because (1) family life is disrupted, (2) depressions occur, or (3) old age or illness. The social welfare structure which is a residual agency that intervenes for temporary need fulfillment. The residual function is

attending primarily to emergency functions, and is expected to withdraw when the regular social structure-the family and the economic system-is again working properly. Because of its residual, temporary, substitute characteristic, social welfare thus conceived often carries the stigma of dole or charity." (p. 139)

Social welfare operates on a two-tiered system. Certain benefits are viewed as entitlement for all people or for the wealthy. For example, if income from unearned sources are taxed at a lower rate than earned income, it is a subsidy for those who have enough money to invest. Such social welfare benefits are not stigmatized. Other benefits, such as Aid to Financially Dependent Children

(AFDC) are viewed as "welfare" and stigmatized. Ryan (1981) stated that

For forty years now, since our brief romance with openly universalistic programs, we have persisted with our two-tiered social policy, while the rest of the world has far outstripped us in developing social insurance and other universalistic approaches. And it is important to note that variations of this two-tiered system are evident in many other areas of our life. Take housing for example. Public housing and its alternatives, such as leased housing and rental assistance, are straight forward means-test programs for the certifiable poor. For middle-income and well-to-do-people we also have housing assistance programs, but they are almost invisible in their universality. I need to refer, of course, to income tax exemptions for mortgage interest payments and real estate taxes. These are available to everyone, with no test of eligibility (other than the minor matter of financial capacity to own one's house), and the consequent savings are direct subsidy to the homeowners from the federal government in precisely the same sense that the relatively low rents in public housing projects are a subsidy to their tenants. The tax deductions that constitute a subsidy to homeowners, however, involve a far greater sum of money than the amount invested in the housing-assistance programs for the poor. But, of course, we homeowners simply take this as our right, our natural entitlement. It never occurs to us that the government is giving us something for nothing.

Norms of American Society

Within the United States, the norm of independence and self-reliance is very strong. Poverty and dependence are looked upon as a consequence of moral weakness. Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965) stated that "individualism is a theory of human behavior and a doctrine in justification of laissez faire." The doctrine of American individualism is:

1. The individual should strive to be successful in competition with others, under the rules of the game.
2. These rules involve "fair play"
 - a. everyone should start with equal opportunity
 - b. no one should take unfair advantage through force, fraud of "pull."
3. The test of reward should be ability. There should be unequal reward for unequal talents and unequal contributions.

Strong beliefs are spelled out as follows:

1. Those who work hard and have ability will be rewarded with success. Success is a tangible package which mainly includes income and wealth, possessions, occupational prestige, and power--along with the style of life these permit...
2. Success is rewarded also of virtue; virtue will bring success. Failure if it is not a temporary way-station to success. is a sin and reveals lack of virtue.
3. Where the lazy, incompetent, and unvirtuous attain success it is purely a matter of luck; it could happen to anybody. (pp. 34-35).

Oppression and Colonialism

The authors concluded that the American democratic values and tradition enables its individuals "inalienable rights." Goldenberg (1978), in an analysis of the power structure in the democratic American society, reported similar findings that supplemented the findings of Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965) on normative structure. However,

Goldenberg focused on oppression and domination. According to Goldenberg,

Oppression is a condition of being in which one's past and future meet in the present--and go no further. To be oppressed is to be rendered obsolete almost from the moment of birth, so that one's experience of oneself is always contingent on an awareness of just how poorly one approximates the images that currently dominate society. (p. 3)

The forms of oppression can be labeled are defined by Goldenberg are:

1. containment - may be physical or psychological--oftentimes it is both, but its primary function is to increasingly restrict and narrow the possibilities that can be entertained; the objectives are to isolate and control the development of people. (pp. 4-5)
2. expendability--social arrangements which create the kind of day-to-day reality through which individual and group distinctiveness ceases to have meaning in the interactions between human beings. The assumption is that within a group of people, individuals can be replaced or substituted by others with no loss to the whole. (pp. 8-9)
3. Compartmentalization--refers to the variety of ways in which people are prohibited from developing an integrated life style. It is the process which encourages partial rewards at many levels but denies fulfillment at any one level. (pp.10-11)
4. Ideology--is a structure which shapes, controls, and mediates our responses to events which impinge themselves upon our consciousness and ideological schemes. The doctrine of personal culpability--focus is to detract and distract, it

encourages one to internalize blame and the heaping of abuse upon oneself. The myth is maintained by making the victim believe himself/herself to be the principal author of his/her own victimization. An example of this was the author's analysis of the War on Poverty-individual remediation, in their view was the key to fixing up individuals. Poverty was to be eradicated through counseling, training, and education, through programs specifically aimed at "pygmalionizing the poor." The assumption was that people were poor because they had no money, goods or power in a society that judged worth specifically in those terms. The barriers to possessing either goods or power were not created by the victimized but by the institutional sources of the victimization. Social intervention and social change are questions of values--values and strategies and the relationship between the two. (pp. 10-13,17)

Freire (1986), wrote about the contradiction of oppression. He stated "as long as they live in a duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor," (p. 31) the struggle for the oppressed to gain their humanity is impossible. The oppressed are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The author states that the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is prescription. "Every prescription represents the imposition of one man's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the man prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber's

consciousness" (p. 32). In conclusion "Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift" (pp. 31-33).

The importance of Friere's observations are that the oppressed, a category that includes the homeless, since homelessness is a form of political and economic oppression, is that liberation must be a process that begins and ends with the oppressed. It is when the oppressed are able to organize around their own needs that liberation is possible.

Memmi (1965) characterized the relations between African-Americans and the state as internal colonialism. He wrote that colonial racism is built from three major ideological components:

1. the gulf between culture of the colonialist and the colonized.
2. exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonialist.
3. the use of the supposed differences as standards of absolute fact. (p. 71)

Because cultural and physical differences are used ideologically by the colonizer to characterize the colonized as inferior, Memmi wrote:

Racism appears then, not as an incidental detail, but as a substantial part of colonization. It is the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonialist. (p. 74)

Colonization is economic and political exploitation.

"Colonization distorts relationships, destroys or petrifies

institutions and corrupts men, both colonizers and colonized." (p. 151)

Fannon (1963) wrote about the oppression of the colonized somewhat differently from Memmi (1965) in that he wrote about decolonialization.

Decolonialization is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature, which in fact owe their originality to that very nature, which in fact owe their originality to that sort of substantification which results from and is nourished by the situation of the colonies. Their first encounter was marked by violence and their existence together -- that is to say the exploitation of the native by the settler -- was carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannons. The last shall be first and the first shall be last. Decolonization is the putting into practice of this sentence. (pp. 36-37)

One of the prevailing characteristics of members of an oppressed group is that individual members of the group suffer from tunnel vision. That is to say that each member has a tendency to focus on oppression as it relates only to their group. This concept of oppression effectively prevents the group from looking at its position in society as a whole. Additionally, this narrow view of oppression allows individual members of the group to rationalize their being better off than other members of the group (Freire, 1986).

Thus, when viewing the homeless as living in a system of internal colonization, insofar as they exist as powerless persons whose lives are directed by political forces beyond

their control, one malady that will afflict them is tunnel vision. They may all want out of their present position, but they see the mechanism for doing so individually, not collectively.

This is borne out in a speech made January 23, 1963 by Malcolm X:

One was a house Negro and the other a field Negro. The house Negro usually lived close to his master. He dressed like his master. He wore his master's second-hand clothes. He ate food that his master left on the table and he lived in his master's house--probably in the basement or the attic--but he still lived in the master's house. So whenever that house Negro identified himself in the same sense that as his master identified himself. When his master said, we have good food, the house Negro would say yes, we have plenty of good food. We have plenty of good food. When the master said that, we have a fine home here, the house Negro said yes, we have a fine home here. When the master would be sick, the house Negro identified himself so much with his master he'd say, what's the matter boss, we sick? His masters pain was his pain and it hurt him more for his master to be sick than for him to be sick himself. When the house started burning down, that type of Negro would fight harder to put the master's house out than the master would himself. But then you had another Negro out in the field. The house Negro was in the minority. The masses--the field Negroes were in the majority. When the master got sick, they prayed that he'd die. If his house caught on fire, they prayed for a wind to come along and fan the breeze. If someone came to the house Negro and said lets go, lets separate, naturally that Uncle Tom would say go where? What could I do without the boss? Where would I live? How would I dress? Who would look for me? That's the house Negro, but if you went to the field Negro and said let's go, let's separate, he wouldn't even ask you where or how. He'd say yes, let's go and that one ended right there. (Perry, 1989, p. 29)

The point to be made by Malcolm X is that invidious differences within the exploited class provide the basis for fragmentation of opposition. Because the field blacks were treated pretty much the same, they were in solidarity in their hatred of their oppression. The house blacks, however, because of their relative privilege, even though they were slaves, lacked solidarity with the lesser privileged field blacks.

Protest Tactics

Martin Luther King was an advocate of the non-violent use of force in the tradition of Mohandes Ghandi's "satygraha." The use of non-violent tactics had a two-fold function. First, the resort to violence gave legitimacy to the use of the institutionalized means of violence, which was more powerful and deadly. Second, it gives the dissidents greater moral authority. King said,

the time has come for a broad, bold advance--for equality--the psychological moment has come. We must not let the present strategic opportunity pass. Not only is there to be a stepped up campaign for voter registration but there must also be a full-scale assault upon discrimination and segregation in all forms. We must train our youth and adult leaders in the techniques of social change through non-violent resistance."
(Allen, 1971 p. 91)

Piven and Cloward (1977) stated that the view of the lower classes as inherently violent may be based on fears of

those in positions of privilege have of losing their privilege to those with humbler backgrounds:

The common but false association of lower-class protest with violence may also be a residue of this tradition and its view of the mob as normless and dangerous, the barbarian unchained. Mass violence is, to be sure, one of many forms of defiance, and perhaps a very elemental form, for it violates the very ground rules of civil society. And lower-class groups do on occasion resort to violence--to the destruction of property and persons--and perhaps that is more likely to be the case when they are deprived of their institutional location of the opportunity to use other forms of defiance. They are usually not violent because the risks are too great; the penalties attached to the rise of violence by the poor are too fearsome and too overwhelming." (pp. 18-19)

Piven and Cloward (1979) wrote about the poor people's movements. They stated,

In the minds of most people, worker struggles are usually linked with unionism; the right to join and to bargain collectively was often a central demand in work or uprisings long before the 1930s. But that does not mean that established unions played a central role in these uprisings. In fact, some of the fiercest struggles in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occurred when the unions were weakest and sometimes despite the resistance of established union leadership. But while existing unions could not often be credited with the great worker struggles of the pre-depression years, there were nevertheless organizers in these struggles. Some of these organizers were insurgents from the rank and file; others were radicals whose vision of an alternative future helped to account for their exemplary courage. Wherever these organizers came from, their vision helped good workers into protest, and their courage gave workers heart and determination. (p. 148)

Lawson (1986) wrote about tenant activism in New York City between the years 1904-1984. He focused on the tenant-landlord relationship noting that the power relationship is generally unequal. The focus of his study was on the relationships between radicals and mainstream political leaders.

The basic organizational levels of the tenant movement are building and neighborhood organizations; the first federation was added in the mid 1930s. Because there were multiple levels to the movement's structure, each was able to specialize functionally and thus marshal the appropriate expertise: while building organizations were the organizing unit and neighborhood organizations provided them with organizing skills and focused on local issues, federations represented the interests of tenants to outside authorities. The existence of building organizations and neighborhood organizations, matching local concerns and identities, facilitated both the mobilization of the tenant constituency and the emergence and promotion of leaders. Many of those in leadership positions at the neighborhood and federation levels, especially women who became increasingly prominent as time passed, began their activity in the tenant movement by helping to organize their own buildings. Thus federations could afford to work within the system in their political strategies, while concurrently, affiliated neighborhood organizations utilized unorthodox or extralegal strategies, such as organizing rent strikes or seizing control of buildings, in their combat with uncooperative landlords or encroaching abandonment. (p. 5)

To be poor and homeless is a form of oppression. Although the homeless are not exploited, since they are outside the labor force, they are oppressed by their powerlessness and their use as pawns in political games

played by the powerful. They are also oppressed by their poverty. Their lack of social resources condemn them to a life driven by the need to secure the basic necessities of existence.

Tenants have in the past and continue to organize against landlords. However, as Lawson (1986) has written, the balance of power favors the landlords. Therefore, what has happened during the 1980s, years of a booming economy, the power accorded landlords increased, while tenants increased. In New York City, for example, the Times Square area was designated an "enterprise zone" subject to urban renewal. Cheap single-occupancy-room hotels were replaced by luxury hotels, and the poor people were displaced, many to the streets.

Organizations

Bolman and Deal (1989) wrote

organizations are complex, surprising, deceptive, and ambiguous, but that does not mean they always seem that way to people in them. Keep in mind that people want their world to be understandable, predictable, and manageable. Even in the face of inconsistent evidence--as in a playing card experiment, people will try to make the world fit their current theories about it that way, they can see their organizations as clear and straightforward. (p. 14)

The authors describe the personalistic perspective by what happens in the organization influenced by individual needs, wants, beliefs, attitudes, abilities, or feelings.

The rational perspective which means rationally such as sitting down together review the facts for purpose of arriving at an objective analysis of the problem. The power perspective which includes the view that this is a dog-eat-dog world. The key factor in decision making is centered around who has the power. The authors conclude that all these perspectives are important phenomena in organizations.

The Politics of Organizations

The authors Bolman and Deal (1984) have written about the political approach perspective in organizations. The following are five important factors:

1. Most of the important decisions in organizations involve the allocation of scarce resources.
2. Organizations are coalitions composed of a number of individuals and interest groups, for example, hierarchal levels, departments, professional groups, ethnic groups.
3. Individuals and interest groups differ in their values, preferences, beliefs, information, and perceptions of reality. Such differences are usually enduring and change slowly if at all.
4. Organizational goals and decisions emerge from ongoing processes of bargaining, negotiation, and jockeying for position among individuals and groups.
5. Because of scarce resources and enduring differences, power and conflict are

central features of organizational life. (p. 109)

The strategy and tactics of conflict are the focus of the political frame. The basic assumption is that bargaining and coalition formation are central aspects of the tactics of conflict. The political frame states that the pursuit of self-interest and power is the basic assumption in the on going process in organizations.

Glaser, Abelson and Garrison (1983) discuss the concept of change agents. They wrote:

Successful involvement of citizens [as change agents] requires an increased recognition of their readiness and capacity for participation and a clearer identification of the decisions in which they can become productively involved. Otherwise, citizens participation may serve little more than a "puppet function." (p. 262)

In many cases, so-called "citizen participation" is little more than the use of compliant individuals by institutional powers to give their decisions legitimacy. It is highly questionable that the average citizen can be represented in organizations other than those they create themselves from the grass roots.

Organizational Behavior

Hersey and Blanchard (1982) discussed organizational behavior in the following way:

1. Behavior is basically goal-oriented--a desire to attain a goal, all behavior is

a series of activities, the reasons for our action is not always apparent.

2. Motives--needs, wants drives on impulses within the individual. They are directed toward goals, which may be conscious. Motives are the ways of behavior.
3. Goals--outside an individual, the hoped for reward which motives are directed, which are called incentives. (pp. 14-15)

Since this research is a study of an organization, the behavior that is being assessed is organizational behavior. Therefore, the organization needs to be examined in terms of its goals, needs of the participants, and how the goals of the organization relate to the members' needs.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The purpose of this study is to explore the organization of a homeless group of residents living in temporary housing in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel by studying those who are developing and applying its goals and objectives.

The questions that guided the study are as follows:

- 1) Who are the homeless?
- 2) What do they think are the underlying assumptions concerning homelessness? How do the homeless define homelessness?
- 3) How did the homeless become homeless?
- 4) What are homeless people's experiences as homeless persons?
- 5) What do they think is the solution to the problem of homelessness?
- 6) What kinds of problems do grass roots organizations such as POM have in institutionalizing themselves?

Data Collection Method

Patton (1980) stated that a qualitative investigator seeks to understand the feelings, perceptions and knowledge of people through the intensive in-depth interview. The primary method for gathering data in this proposed study is a series of in-depth interviews with the founder and members of the organization "Parents on the Move".

The written consent form was completed by each participant before their interviews is shown in Appendix J. It informed them about the nature and use of this study, and commitment to diligently protect their privacy.

In addition, this researcher decided to further explore studies in temporary housing facilitates provided by New York City. The investigation included a need to understand the housing situation in New York City. The inquiry included some studies on families living in temporary housing (see Appendix I).

Selection of Participants

The participants for this study were the founder of the organization, Parents on the Move (POM), the three presidents to date, and 15 POM members. Most of the respondents were recruited from a list provided by the Victim Services Agency, which was still servicing former Brooklyn Arms Residents. The researcher contacted them by telephone to request an interview. Because participants

were dispersed throughout the five boroughs of New York City, I started with former residents of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel who were currently living in Brooklyn. I requested interviews from them, and I also requested referrals from the former residents of the hotel. I made this request of each person interviewed. This procedure resulted in a list of members of POM.

In addition, this researcher contacted former agencies from the social service coalition and inquire if they have contact with former Brooklyn Arms Hotel residents. This procedure resulted in a list of seven members of POM. Four families were serviced by the Bedford/Stuyvesant Headstart program that employed this researcher.

The Interview Process

The process of in-depth interviewing was used to gather data for this proposed study. Each participant was asked to be interviewed in a two hour interview session, and if needed, a one hour follow-up interview. Prior to the interview, the respondents were asked to sign an informed consent statement that was signed by the researcher and a witness. The consent form is in Appendix J.

The session was audio taped. The format for interviewing was loosely structured and open-ended. A free response technique was used to encourage the interviewees to reveal their feelings, interpretations, and sense of

meaning. The interview was informal and conversational. A guide was used to assure that certain topics are included (See Appendix K for the interview guide).

Data Analysis

The raw data of the study were transcripts and taped recorded interviews. Each interviewed was profiled in their own words. The data were reviewed and categorized on the basis of themes and topics related to POM. In addition to background data, respondents were asked about how they felt about homelessness, life in the hotel, and POM. Major questions related to POM were how it helped them, how it changed (or did not change) their life, their perceptions of its goals, how well they thought it achieved its goals, and how the organization could be improved.

Once the data were organized around the various topics, the data under each topic was reread so that the researcher could develop a sense of consensus and variety of opinions regarding the topic. On the basis of the data, an outline of the findings chapter was developed. The outline provided the basis for organizing the results. Each section was organized so that the data presented those issues on which all respondents agreed and those on which they differed. Tables of frequencies and distributions of the 20 respondents were constructed on background variables, and responses to several research questions. Then the

subsections of the findings chapter were written by developing a narrative that provided an overview of the data. The narrative was supplemented by illustrative quotations from various POM interviewees.

Following the presentation of the data, they were analyzed in relationship to the literature on grass roots organizations and the problems of organizing the poor. The question of whether POM was a success or failure was addressed.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the interviews of 19 homeless women who formerly lived in the hotel and a social worker who helped found Parents on the Move (POM). The first section contains background information on the homeless mothers. The second section addresses the participants' ideas and opinions on homelessness and how they became homeless. The third section presents their experiences during their stay at the hotel. The final section is an assessment of the organizational success or failure of POM. In order to facilitate a more open and free discussion, the interviews did not adhere to a strict schedule. Therefore, the following results should be viewed as "a slice of life." All the names of the interviewees were changed to pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of the subjects.

Background Data: Who are the Homeless?

The first research question asked, "Who are the homeless?" The data in Table 1 provide background information on the homeless respondents of this study. The majority of the homeless women were black or Hispanic. There were 15 (75.0%) blacks and four (20.0%) Hispanics. Only one (5.0%) of the women was white. Another woman considered herself of mixture of black and Hispanic. Blacks clearly made up the majority of the sample.

The ages of the respondents ranged from 20 to 42 years-old. Nine (45.0%) of them were in their mid-to-late thirties. Of those who answered the question about religion, five (25.0%) were Baptist, 10 (50.0%) were other Protestant sects, and three (15.0%) reported being Catholic.

Seven (35.0%) women stated that they graduated from high school, one woman obtained a GED, and six (30.0%) others dropped out of high school. Two (10.0%) of the respondents took some college courses. There were no data on five (25.0%) others.

The majority of the women either left or were separated from their mates. Only two (10.0%) of them were currently living with their spouses. In some cases, the dissolution of the relationship caused their slide into homelessness. This will be discussed in the next section. In other cases, the experience of homelessness caused the marriage to breakup.

Table 1

Frequencies and Distribution of the Respondents over
Background Variables

(N = 20)

Variable	(<u>n</u>)	%
<u>Race</u>		
Black	15	75.0
Hispanic	4	20.0
Other	1	5.0
<u>Age</u>		
20-24	3	15.0
25-29	2	10.0
30-34	1	5.0
35-39	9	45.0
40+	2	10.0
No data	3	15.0
<u>Education</u>		
< HS	6	30.0
HS Grad	7	35.0
Some college	2	10.0
No data	5	25.0
<u>Religion</u>		
Baptist	5	25.0
Catholic	3	15.0
Christian	10	50.0
No data	2	10.0
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Married	2	10.0
Separated/Divorced	18	90.0

(continued next page)

Table 1 (cont.)

Frequencies and Distribution of the Respondents over Background Variables

(N = 20)

Variable	(<u>n</u>)	%
<u>Number of Children</u>		
1-2	0	0.0
3-4	7	35.0
5-6	7	35.0
7+	2	10.0
No data	4	20.0
<u>Length of Residence in Hotel</u>		
< 1 year	2	10.0
1 year	3	15.0
2 years	5	25.0
3 years	1	5.0
4 years	1	5.0
Not applicable	2	10.0
No data	6	30.0

Seven (35.0%) of the respondents had three or four children, seven (35.0%) had five or six children, and two (10.0%) had more than six children. There were no data on four (20.0%) of the respondents.

Two (10.0%) respondents reported living in the hotel less than a year, three (15.0%) indicated having lived there a year, five (25.0%) reported a stay of two years, and one (5.0%) each reported living three and four years. Two

(10.0%) respondents were not homeless, and there were no data on six (30.0%) others.

Homeless Families

The majority of the mothers had at least four children. Many experienced early pregnancies. The number of children ranged from three to eight. Their ages ranged from one to 26. Doris gives insight into why she had eight children.

There is nothing like a big family and that's what I always wanted. When I found out how to have kids I didn't waste no time. I was on it. I had a baby every year. Every year. This way I would never have to be lonely and they will never have to be lonely because they have each other.

In her children, Doris found meaning and a sense of belonging. Her children were the most important concern in her life. Tina said: "If something happens to my kids, I have to fight because nobody else is going to help them but me." This concern for their children was shared by all the respondents.

Although their children were the focal point of their concerns, the homeless mothers were also concerned about their childrens' fathers and their husbands. Concerning the leaving of her husband, Fonda stated, "We are not together anymore. . . Him not being able to keep his family out of the hotel. . . I don't know how to describe it, but it really bogged him down and came up on him at one time." Her husband ended up experiencing a mental breakdown which

required hospitalization. The condition of homelessness not only contributed to the physical breakdown of the family but was intertwined with the already fragile psychological makeup of family in poverty.

The fact that most were single mothers trying to cope with homelessness should not be necessarily interpreted as a weakness on the part of minority men. Some women did harbor negative views of men as opportunists, especially when it came to sex. Lilian said, "I left my husband because I had a lot of problems with him. He used to get crazy and he had another woman and I found out about it and that's when I decided to leave." Jannette did not trust men. She stated:

If someone comes and tells me that he likes me, I am not going to like him because I already have four kids and I am divorced and I am going to think that he is going to use me again to. I don't believe them. I always think that they are going to use me. Once they get inside it is not easy because they want you to wash, cook, clean, and use you a little bit. I don't want that anymore. I already went through that already.

Others reported how their husbands or boyfriends helped them at all costs. For instance, Lilian recounted how her boyfriend was arrested when he defended and her children from being attacked. She added, "That same night I went to the police station and I told them what happened, but the cops didn't want to listen to me." Although her husband was out of work, Anna said he collected old washing machines and aluminum that he could sell to support his family.

Right now he is laid-off and they paint subways and they work like three or four months and then they get laid-off until there is more work. There are hardly any jobs out there. He has to be collecting mattresses or washing machines and he fixes them. Whatever he can get out of the garbage like aluminum, that's what he does. . .home because I need pampers and milk. . .He collects washing machines and aluminum. It is better than nothing.

Mary, a former homeless mother and past president of POM, was quite forceful in pointing out that black men did play supportive roles.

I acknowledge the black men that were the quiet force that was there for me. I am sick and tired of us as women can receive this even if we are single if there are no influential black men in our lives. So I acknowledge B., C., and G. To me it was good because I wanted these white folks to understand that these are black men and we do have black men in our lives. They are a very important part of our lives.

Therefore, minority men did play important although "quiet" roles in the lives of their women.

Homelessness

The second research question refers to how the respondents felt about homelessness. The data in Table 2 indicate whether the respondents felt that homelessness was a result of personal failure or impersonal forces.

Table 2

Frequencies and Distribution of the Respondents over Reasons for Homelessness

Reasons	(<u>n</u>)	%
Personal Failure	6	30.0
External Forces	9	45.0
No data	5	25.0
TOTAL	20	100.0

Of the 15 persons who responded to the question about why people become homeless, nine indicated that they felt that external forces over which individuals had no control were the prime reason. These include lack of affordable housing, fires, and legal maneuvers by hostile landlords. Six indicated that homelessness was a result of personal or moral inadequacies, such as drug addiction and laziness.

The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences defined homelessness as a condition of detachment from society and a lack of affiliative bonds (Beard, 1988). In a similar fashion, Esther defined homelessness as hardship brought about by the lack of family and friends to help.

[Life is a] hardship unless you have someone out there to care about you and try to help you out. There are a lot of people who are homeless that don't have family or friends. They don't know where to go to get help. . . No place to live and no where to go. When you don't have any place to live and nobody to care all that is a part of being homeless.

Maria felt that there are various reasons for homelessness:

As far as the homeless they are homeless for different reasons. Most are homeless because of ignorance. They get themselves into so many things and when they realize what they are in to they are into drugs and other things. They have nothing really to care for. Those people need extra help.

Both women mentioned the need to help the homeless even though personal inadequacies or faults like drug addiction may have contributed to their current plight.

Although Joan agreed that some people may be homeless due to personal failings like drug addiction, others are homeless because of larger forces beyond their control. She reasoned:

A lot of people are homeless, but they don't want to be homeless. Some people are homeless because they can't help it and some people are homeless and they can help it. Like crack may make people do stupid things like not paying your rent. If you don't pay your rent you don't have a home and I figure if you get on welfare they will pay it for you, but they can't budget you, they put checks in your hand and then you're not in the hotel and that makes you even more homeless. Like I said I was homeless not because I wanted to be homeless, but because my house fell down.

Therefore, being homeless was not just a lack of having a permanent place to live but also being cut off from the social group. It is this lack of social ties to family and friends coupled with the ignorance about the available social services safety net which contributes to

homelessness. One of the main functions of POM was to inform the hotel residents of available programs and facilitate their participation in them.

In contrast, Doris defined homelessness solely as a personal failure. She blamed the victims for not shouldering their own moral responsibilities and duties. She contended that homelessness referred to:

A person that had and didn't take care of business so they lost it and the City had to put them up. I only had a fire that's why I was put up. I didn't lose my apartment. When we came in the hotel we saw a lot of T.V. shows on homeless people. My kids said to me that we were homeless and I said no we ain't. I didn't lose my apartment because I didn't pay rent or anything. A homeless person is someone who does not take care of their responsibility. We just out a of an apartment. We have a place to stay. I told a lot of people in the hotel that they might be homeless because you didn't pay your rent so that's why you are here, but I am here because of a fire. To me it is not the same. If you have a fire you have to explain how you got homeless. Those people out there laying in the street is because they don't have a home. That's homeless.

Therefore, Doris did not consider herself homeless and told her children not to consider themselves as homeless because she lost her apartment in a fire. In other words, she became homeless through no fault of her own. To her "homeless" was a moral category that indicated depravity. She was disturbed by the stigma of the label of homeless, especially for her children, and repeatedly denied the label throughout the interview.

Robin lamented that people could be nasty. The label of homeless made Robin depressed.

I used to feel bad about myself being homeless. Like I said I felt like a bag lady. Sometimes I used to feel low. I would get depressed because I had to cook by my mothers and lug it all the way back to my house and things like that.

Vicky also found being homeless depressing. Although she accepted the label, she fought daily against the stigma of it.

I want to be very honest and say, I want to be objective and say because it is so easy for a person to blame everything on being homeless. Because as far as I am concerned, I am homeless per say because I don't have a five room apartment in a nice area and my key to put in my door in a nice neighborhood and mentally look upon it in a different way than I would look at it from this hotel. But the mentality, you have to understand something; when I came even though they say it is a hotel, you are homeless, I never refused to look upon myself as being homeless. Homeless per say is to the fact that I am not living (so to speak) in a normal environmental situation that normal people have their own home in a set community. Permanent housing without the label of homeless hotel, welfare hotel. After a while when you hear that word enough it is a conditioning. I was fighting against, and am still fighting against it.

Fonda, a vice-president of POM, also complained about being stereotyped as homeless. She maintained that not all homeless are welfare recipients.

[Homelessness meant] not being able to do a lot of things that I wanted to do and being frustrated and being stereotyped. I hated that most of all

because there were a lot of people in the hotel that were never on welfare before. They were not lazy. They had educations and good jobs before they came there, but for some reason maybe a fire or the rent brought them there. We had a lady that lived in there and she had her PhD. There are just a lot of different reasons people become homeless. I think the stereotyping of the kids is what I really disliked the most. It was really bad the way they treated them and the things that was said about us that was untrue.

Many of the parents like Doris and Fonda were deeply concerned and angered by the prejudice and discrimination that their children suffered in school. The homeless had become a stigmatized social category. Children of the homeless were referred to as "Hotel kids" in the schools and were stereotyped as troublemakers. That is why many of the respondents who were objectively homeless denied the label of "The Homeless."

POM was instrumental in making the local school attended by the hotel children responsive to their needs. Kenya, the social worker who help found POM, described how they achieved their goal by taking over a PTA meeting.

We went into the school because the teachers were labeling the kids as the hotel kids. There were only about 75 to 150 community residents' kids in that school. The school was getting a lot of money because of the fact that they were dealing with the homeless population. They were getting extra money. The teachers did not want to deal with the kids. The kids were being labeled as a the hotel kids, the kids that came out of the community at large was getting all the benefits; they were trying to separate those kids. The Hispanic kids were getting more from the benefits than the kids from the hotel was getting; the teachers did not want to deal with those kids. So

when we went to this PTA meeting we just took over the meeting. We took over and made certain demands. We told the principal either you meet with our demands or we are leaving this school.

The concern and direct action of POM for the children of the homeless was highly appreciated by the mothers. This will be discussed more in the final section of this chapter.

The Causes of Homelessness

The third research question asked how the respondents became homeless? The various reasons are enumerated in Table 3.

Table 3

Frequencies and Distribution of the Respondents over Causes of Homelessness

Cause	(<u>n</u>)	%
Drug Addiction	2	10.0
Family breakup	3	15.0
Fire	1	5.0
Loss of Habitable Residence	3	15.0
Loss of income	3	15.0
Eviction	4	20.0
Excluded by family	4	20.0
Not applicable	2	10.0

The data in Table 3 indicate more responses than respondents, since some respondents gave more than one answer. For example, one respondent stated that she was

living with her sister and brother-in-law. She was using drugs and her brother-in-law threw her and her children out of the apartment they were sharing.

The participants in this study became homeless for various reasons: the building they lived in was in an unlivable condition, the building they lived in fell apart, landlord problems, rent disputes, failure to pay rent, eviction, marital breakup, fire, drugs, and illness. Robin explained that her apartment was so dilapidated that she could not live there.

I used to live in a old apartment that was in really bad condition. No heat, not hot water and there were a lot of problems in the building. That's how I caught asthma. Then I went into the hospital to have my baby that's why I never went back. I left everything I had there. . . My furniture, my bed, my T.V., and my kids clothes, everything. I just left everything there.

Joan's former building was in such ill repair that it collapsed. Rose maintained that a dispute with her landlord over repairs resulted in the eviction of herself and her children.

I had problems with the landlord he didn't want to accept my rent because he wouldn't fix the place. So when I went to take him to court he was supposed to fix the apartment, but he didn't want to fix it; he just wanted me out.

For others, it was the dissolution of a relationship. Maria said: "I broke up with my kids father and it was his apartment. I left everything behind." Similarly, Donna

reported, "I was living with my kids father's family and I was going through changes with them and they just one day told me to get out with me and my kids!"

A fire lead to Doris becoming homeless. Anna became homeless due to addiction to crack which caused her to lose her children. This situation was compounded by the death of her foster and natural mothers.

Both my mothers died. That's why I went to homelessness because at that time I was smoking crack, I lost my kids, my apartment was falling in, plus my mother just died. It was real bad for me. My mother died two days after my son was born. I was in the hospital when they told me that she died.

Vicky ended up homeless because of an illness. The overwhelming majority of these women became homeless due to forces that were beyond their control. It is ironic that women who have made an attempt to no longer be the victim of an abusive or unsupportive relationship end up been victims of the welfare system which has a tendency to breed more dependency.

Homelessness seemed to be discussed in terms of being out of control, isolated and locked into the cycle of poverty. Mary, a former president of POM, argued:

They talk about the homeless population just being black and Hispanic. It is not true. If you go out in an alley you have poor whites that are homeless. It is just all about where you are going. It depends on what type of statistics you want to put together. Homelessness has no color

barriers. We are talking economics, that's what it boils down to, economics.

Homelessness is a extreme form of poverty, prejudice and discrimination, and blocks opportunities for the poor.

Life in the Hotel

The fourth research question asked what their experiences were as homeless persons? Although their experiences inform this whole chapter, the subject of this section is their experiences of life in the hotel. Table 4 presents data on general liking or disliking of living in the hotel.

Table 4

Frequencies and Distribution of the Respondents on Attitude toward Living in the Hotel

Attitude	(<u>n</u>)	%
Liked	3	15.0
Disliked	6	30.0
No opinion	2	10.0
No data	9	45.0
TOTAL	20	100.0

The range of stay in the hotel was from four months to four years. For the majority, the average length of residence at the hotel was two years.

Everyone was in agreement that the hotel was better than the shelters whose alleged reputation as dangerous

places were evidenced by the experiences of the respondents.

Maria recounted:

[The shelter] was terrible. There was one room and everybody was sleeping in the same room. . . There were males, females, children, and everybody sleeping in one big room. Whatever you had that was worth anything you had to have it on you. The kids you had to be constantly on top of them because there was nothing for them to do except run around in the hall ways and get into all kinds of trouble. You had to have your kids with you because you had all kinds of men [there]. Even the females were dangerous. It was not just the men.

Tina vowed that she would never allow her children back in a shelter because of all the drugs and fighting that went on.

Although their preference was the hotel, it also was vulnerable to violence and theft. The main source of these problem was drugs, mainly crack. Cynthia exclaimed, "It was real crazy. . .you had the crackheads in there." Anna warned:

They come in to see what you got and then they come steal it. That's why I didn't let anybody in my room. That is exactly why I didn't socialize with anybody. I knew that's the way it was.

The use and dealing of crack created an atmosphere for senseless violence, intimidation, child neglect and abuse, and loan sharking. Most tried to stay out of the way of the crackheads and dealers in order to avoid altercations and trouble. Those who used drugs did so out of the boredom and

frustration of hotel living. Some like Rose and Donna blamed the hotel for their addiction to crack. Donna described her slide into crack smoking as follows:

The first couple of months I would stay to myself, but when you are in there you can't stay to yourself because people are all in your business. When everybody is in one room together, they hear what you are going through. It was like how am I going to deal with all these kids in one room together? So what they would say was come on let your kids come in the room and let them play with each others kids. That's how we first got started because my kids would play with their kids. Now I was wondering what they was doing and while the kids was playing they would say come in my room and smoke a cigarette. Then we would smoke cigarettes. Then we was getting into the coke cigarettes. Then they was into the crack and I was like "oh my God." By the time I realized what I was in, I was in deep into the problem. Early in the morning I would get my kids up and let them go and play because there was this one girl that would mind all the kids.

Some respondents like Anna felt that the majority of the "homeless" people at the hotel where there for the extra welfare money. The extra money from welfare often went to the purchase of drugs. The realization that she could lose all her children to the authorities if she tested positive for drugs during her pregnancy was Donna's main impetus to quit drugs. She stated that POM helped give her the strength to get off drugs and help get her life together.

In addition to drugs, many complained about maintenance problems such as clogged drains, no heat, no hot water, bad electrical wires, and health problems such lead poisoning, mice, and roaches. Vicky asserted: "They don't even want to

do their job, they rather let you suffer. I have gone weeks with my sink stopped-up. I had to do everything in the tub." The callous attitude of the hotel management added insult to injury to many of the residents.

On the other hand, some of the interviewees really liked living at the hotel. Esther stated it was like a family:

I left the first day because there was so many people in the aisle, but then I came back. After the first day I got adjusted to it and then it became like a family. Everybody see each other and know each other. It was alright, but the first day I was scared. It was a weird feeling.

Cheryl also liked the hotel:

The hotel wasn't much of a problem because we had everything there. If we didn't have food we went to the Sal[vation Army] or we got food from the office down stairs. We always had. If we had a problem we always had an answer for it. The only thing that was messed-up was the drugs and at one time I had a fight and almost got sliced by a razor, but otherwise we were all family. If we needed something we stuck by each other. It wasn't that difficult. Now when we was homeless and we had to go from place to place is when my life was difficult and then when I moved over here into the "fire zone."

The availability of social services made the hotel an "attractive" place to live. Many of the respondents talked favorably of Headstart, the Salvation Army, the Crisis Office, and Victim Services.

All of the respondents mentioned that they felt it was an irrational waste of good money to pay thousands of

dollars to house them in the hotel but would only give them just a couple hundred dollars for an apartment.

Esther contended:

I think that they are crazy because when I was in the hotel they used to pay \$1,684.00 every two weeks for two rooms and when I wanted to move they told me that I was entitled to \$320.00. How was I going to find an apartment for \$320.00. If I had not had Section 8, I couldn't find an apartment this decent. The rent here is \$661.00 and the only thing that welfare was putting to my rent was \$79.00, and Section 8 was paying \$575.00 so I think they are crazy. If you can pay \$1,684.00 every two weeks for rent in a hotel where you don't have to pay any electric or gas and when someone wants to move a family of seven you tell them \$320.00. Where are you going to find an apartment for \$320.00?

Maria maintained: "They are paying all of this rent for the rooms and would not pay for our own apartments."

Similarly, Vicky commented: "I could have my own home for this. . .It is disgustingly wasteful."

While many experiences at the hotel were unpleasant, it was the availability of a wide range of social services that made it bearable. The function of POM was to aid those who wanted to receive such services. POM helped them regain their ties to the community, to feel less isolated, and to try to gain new opportunities for their children and themselves.

Parents on the Move: Success or Failure

Research question five asked what the respondents felt was the solution to the problem of homelessness. More closely to their own experience was their perceptions of the success or failure of POM. Respondents were allowed to determine their own criteria for success or failure. The data in Table 5 are gross indicators of whether they thought the POM was a success or failure based upon their own criteria.

Table 5

Frequencies and Distribution of the Respondents on Perception of Success or Failure of POM

Attitude	(<u>n</u>)	%
Success	13	65.0
Failure	2	10.0
Don't know	2	10.0
No data	3	15.0
TOTAL	20	100.0

Thirteen (65.0%) of the respondents felt that POM was a success, although there were many different reasons for believing it so. Only two (10.0%) of the respondents felt that POM was a failure, two (10.0%) didn't know whether it was a success or failure, and three (15.0%) did not offer an opinion.

In order to adequately assess the success or failure of POM, however, one first be apprised of the functions of the

organization. Sandra, the president of POM, defined its mission in pragmatic and parochial terms, such as dealing with the Hotel management.

Parents on the Move, I see the organization as a multi-cultural organization. It had people from all races, ethnic groups, backgrounds. To me it is like the Mayor would call a gorgeous mosaic. That is why we worked as a unit. . . We were a sounding board for one another. If you didn't have anyone to talk to, there was always someone in the organization that you could talk to. Someone to listen to you, they even gave you suggestions on how you could deal with welfare or dealing with management like no heat or hot water, you weren't the only one. When the building had that problem we would go down and say what is wrong. . . , they would have to check into it because if they didn't we would say no problem, we will call the Board of Health.

Reading from a mission statement that she was writing for POM, Mary, a former president of POM, described a broader scope of main objectives:

Parents on the Move is a grass roots self-help homeless organization made up of homeless and former homeless men, women, and children. We organized to change the stereotyping of homeless individuals and families. [We are] designed to be the support system for one another during this transition period while people try to find permanent housing, to help promote the living conditions and quality of life in the --- Hotel. Parents on the Move has been in existence since 1982 and its place of operation is the --- Hotel. When it was first started, it was the only organized group of welfare hotels out of 57 hotels within the five boroughs of New York City. The organization became incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1987. It has an Elective Governing Board, and a Board of Directors and it was designed to carry out specific objectives and goals and to talk to new membership and adopt new policy for changes that would help to continue to

bring about the empowerment and support of homeless people. The group reaches out to local community based groups citywide and within the organization homeless and grass roots organizations with the common bond to provide the feelings of belonging. [POM] is a means of opening up the lines of communication as a necessary vehicle for coalition building to help to bring about permanent, decent, and affordable housing for all and to help to eradicate the problem of homeless. The group promotes permanent housing, quality of education for adults and children, day care, comprehensive health care, community economic development, and a sense of self worth and belonging of in the hotel and back in the community. The organization remains a support force for one another in helping to alleviate stress that is endured while being homeless and upon finding permanent housing. . . . The group truly believes that the future is the best part to come. It is only fitting that our motto is "children are the reward of life" as 90% of the homeless population are children. The group sets a good example of what can be accomplished when people of all backgrounds join forces to improve the quality of life.

Kenya, the founder of POM, like Sandra, reported that the original objective was to be advocate for the homeless residents in the hotel, but envisioned the organization as playing a larger role in the empowerment of the poor and homeless in New York City. To summarize, the key objectives of POM were to fight against the stereotyping the homeless, help in the homeless to make the transition from hotel or shelter living to permanent housing, help them gain self-respect, education of their children, promote permanent housing, health care and economic opportunities, and strive for the empowerment of the poor.

The preceding descriptions of the POM are actually based on the dichotomy of what the organization "was" and what it wanted to be. In other words, the leaders talked about two different organizations or maybe two phases of organizational development. The first was a grassroots movement focused on making life better for the homeless residents in the hotel. It was borne out of an immediate struggle. It filled the holes in the social welfare safety net. The POM dealt with everyday life issues of living homeless in the hotel. The second was a more formalized organization born out of the struggle of the first. The second sought to carry out a larger mission of empowerment for the homeless and poor citywide. It concerned itself with the macro forces that impinge on the lives of the homeless and poor. It strived to become a player in the big political arena.

Some of those interviewed like Robin and Rose truthfully replied that they could not assess the success or failure of POM because they never found out what it was about. Rose said, "I guess it was a success if you participated." However, participation in POM did not necessarily guarantee an favorable opinion.

Anna's husband was very active in leading marches for POM, she and her husband became disillusioned with the movement. Anna considered POM a failure. She maintained:

The only thing that I found that I didn't like about Parents on the Move is that in the beginning they all stuck together, but when they got what they wanted and we went to court and everybody was going to get housing, they like scattered. They didn't want to talk to you anymore, they didn't want to know anything about you. In the beginning they were all nice to you and asked you questions. Then after that happened they didn't care. That is why I stopped socializing with them. . .

[My husband] was really into it. He was for himself, but then when he saw how everybody was sticking together he really got into it. But after everything simmered down and everybody got what they wanted they didn't want to know anything about you. That's when my husband started getting mad and saying these people are full of it. They only want you when they need you.

She reiterated her position.

I told you that for me, [POM] is a failure because I mean if you are going to be behind some people if they are a member of your organization then you treat them right. You don't treat them right when you need them and then when you don't need them you treat them like whatever. When they needed me to rally and stuff they would say, "Oh you are a member of Parents on the Move, please come and join the rally," but when they have Christmas parties or whatever they don't say come join the party.

Anna and her husband felt that they were used and received nothing in return for their support and services. Joan saw POM as a failure. To her, it was a gossip group who never followed through on their discussions.

They were good people, but they were not standing up to their words. They would say that they were going to do something, but it was never done. I went to two of their meetings, but I never went to anymore. . . Really, I didn't see any need for the Parents on the Move. They were a

bunch of women who wanted to sit around and gossip. . . It was a failure.

She added: "They were going to help you get housing and jobs, but none of that stuff was true." The main criticisms of POM was that it was a clique whose members looked out for themselves and didn't fulfill their promises of better housing or jobs.

In contrast, Cynthia measured viewed the POM as successful since its main purpose was "to find everybody a decent place to live." She also liked the afterschool program for the children.

Maria said it was a success because her landlord contacted her through the efforts and demonstrations of POM.

Well, they were helping us to get better housing a place that we could really afford. They did a lot. They talked about so many different things that I really can't pin point at the moment, but mainly it was to try to get better housing.

Maria was satisfied because she reaped a tangible reward, namely, a better place to live. But she also reported that her involvement in POM was psychologically rewarding. She said that POM gave her "Courage, and hope."

One of the main objectives of POM was to be a facilitator of social services. Esther felt that this goal was accomplished: "I think it is nice. There are a lot of programs that work. They make a difference in people's lives." Tina believed that POM functioned well as a

resource group and an intermediary between the residents and the hotel management:

They were there. They answered your questions for you; that's what I like most of all. . . They were trying to steer the people in the right way because a lot of people in the hotel wanted to do things their way and it was the wrong way.

Vicky told how POM got her faulty refrigerator which was giving off electrical shocks to her and her children replaced with a new one at the hotel. It was the concrete rewards that the participants remembered.

Other prime objectives of POM were the welfare of the children, teaching life coping skills, and building self-esteem. Jannette reported:

It was good. Because people tried to help. It was very nice because they treat you like a person. Like a family. . . They would help you with your kids like if you had to work at night you could leave them with somebody.

POM taught Donna how to deal with the stresses and strains of her children and daily living. She stated:

Well, they helped me to deal with my kids better. Like when my son would come to me and say mommy this and that, I would say no. They teach you how to say no. They also said to sit there and listen to your child because you never know what your child has to tell you. Most parents push their kids away, but like my son he is very smart and sometimes he would say mommy you are doing it wrong and I would say, "R., I know, I am grown, I know what I am doing," and he would say, "No, Mommy," and I would look again and I was wrong. If I had listened to him I would know from

the beginning that I was wrong. They teach you how to listen to your kids and how to deal with them better. Instead of yelling you say what do you want. They also taught me to get up in the morning and wash-up, clean-up your room (I always did that). They said if you have a clean out look in your house then you have something to look for when you go out. They taught me about my family. To deal with my family better. To spend wisely because when you are in the hotel you have so much money you don't know how to spend it. . . .I should have been saving. If I had save some of that money I would have a beautiful place.

POM helped Donna raise her self-esteem.

To say that there is somebody there to help, your homeless, but you are a person. We are here to help you to look up; there is a way out of this. We are here and if you get involved we will help you and which they did. They lived up to their promise. They said if you get involved with us we will help any type of way we can. If you need food, clothing, day care, or anything that was their purpose. Whatever promise they made they kept it. They said if you want decent housing we will find it for you and they lived up to what they said.

She considered the POM very successful. The bottom line for Donna was that POM delivered what they promised. They made her feel good about herself.

Like Donna, Lilian viewed her involvement with the POM as a learning experience which helped her fight for what she needed to support her children.

They helped me a lot in a way because when I got into Parents on the Move I learned a lot from them. I learned how to struggle more, how to be strong, and how to keep up the fight for what you need.

POM seemed to accomplish the tasks of boosting morale, developing coping skills, and promoting self-dignity. Cheryl said it was a success in the short term because it fulfilled the needs of those at the hotel.

We got everything that we needed. When we was there they did. We had our little group sessions; it is always good to talk when you have problems because sometimes you don't have anybody to talk to and you take it out on the kids or whatever. We had a lot of nice times, but the biggest issue we ever had was when we was getting evicted.

However, the organization was not able to sustain contact and solidarity. Cheryl said,

At first it was good, but then after a while everybody just kind of disappeared. Nobody kept in touch with each other anymore to see how we all turned out. Just because we have a house and all that doesn't mean that we don't have problems. To me it is worse living here then when we were living in that hotel.

She felt there was a lack of follow up by the organization. The most solidarity was when everyone was getting evicted from the hotel

I don't know. We haven't been organized in a long time. The only time that I noticed that they were on the move was when we were getting evicted and everybody wanted to stick together then. After everybody got their own place they didn't stay together. I figure Parents on the Move was over. Nobody said nothing to nobody until that day when they wanted us to bring a dish. I didn't know they was still around and stuff. Yes, there was a need at the time because the people knew where they belonged. At the time they didn't know where we was at and what we was doing because

everybody was into themselves and this way everybody united and they all took part especially when we was getting evicted. It gave us something to do and we all got along; we all felt like we belonged. It was very nice to get involved.

Cheryl liked living in the hotel better than her new place. She got mugged in her new neighborhood. Shootings and drugs are widespread there.

Because everything goes on here. If you step outside they be shooting. They shoot so much around here that my kids be ducking on the floor. It is not like we moved somewhere better. We didn't move better. At least when we was in the hotel we were a family; we all knew each other. Here they try to take advantage of you so you don't really get to comfortable. At least in the hotel we did help each other out because if we had a problem we knew where to go and we knew how to take care of it. Here if I take my kids from school and we walk down the block this guy got shot in his head and we have to run. This is how we live here.

She missed the solidarity of the hotel that the POM help generate.

The leaders saw their organization as successful. Sandra defined success narrowly based on the ability of the organization to keep a homeless family intact. Mary based her assessment broader issues such as the changes that occurred in housing the homeless (i.e., the move away from hotel warehousing), and the new concern with day care, education of homeless children, and health care issues. Kenya was of the opinion that POM was a success because it "made people move to close down the hotel." Within these

responses, there was a division between what the organization "was" and hope of what it "wants to be." There was also a split between accomplishment as psychological rewards and tangible concrete actions. Most of the respondents mentioned both. Realistically, the assessment of POM is not simply a case of the majority opinion of the preceding testimonials. Some, like the leaders, have a vested interest in defining the organization as a success. The success or failure of POM is hard to judge. It is dependent on how it is defined and also how it is linked to the motivation of the respondents. If success is judged by making people feel good about themselves and their homeless situation, then POM was a clear success. It provided support to the residents and helped improve conditions at the hotel. Moreover, these accomplishments instilled in the participants the courage to handle problems on their own.

However, one must also examine the motivational core of the individuals involved. If one looks deeper into what people said in their interviews, there was a sense of a two different social groupings. One group had the motivation to reach out and improve their plight. People who got involved with POM were fighters, rebels, and visionaries. The other group lacked that motivation and did not care to take moral or social responsibility for their own actions. POM seemed to be successful at reaching the former. The appeal and strength of POM was that individuals felt that they could

make a difference for themselves and their children. POM understood that all the mothers, even those addicted to crack, considered their children the most important thing in their lives. POM used this to reach out.

The high point of the organization was the closing of the hotel. One can not unequivocally state that the POM, through its protests and efforts, caused the closing of the hotel and the successful placement of the residents in permanent housing. However, it can safely be said that the POM was quite vocal and able to capture media attention and the attention of local politicians. It also gave the public a view of the homeless that they were not previously exposed to: mothers with children who wanted a better life. POM brought home notion that homelessness is not just a lack of housing, it is a fight for human dignity. It assailed the stereotypical notion of homeless as helpless.

Problems with Grass Roots Organizations

The sixth research question asked, "What kinds of problems do grass roots organizations such as POM have in institutionalizing themselves?" This last section of the findings chapter will address this issue.

Both the leaders and the members referred to POM as a grass roots organization. Kweit and Kweit (1990) stated that Saul Alinsky was most successful grassroots organizers. According to methods employed by Alinsky, a successful

grassroots organization must: 1) be organized around an issues of immediate and obvious concern; 2) focused on not "leading" people by using existing organizations; and 3) the use of creative and dramatic tactics to publicize demands.

The first phase, or the hotel stage of POM, it adhered to the first method because it was organized around facilitating the daily functioning of those in the hotel. The rewards and outcomes were immediate in the hotel. For service, all you had to do was walk downstairs or across the street. POM's call for permanent housing was also an example of the first method. As Cheryl said, the eviction from the hotel was "the biggest issue" that involved all the members. This issue was very effective in bringing the residents of the hotel together because private interest coincided with the group interest. If one did not join the demonstrations and marches, you would be forced to go back to the shelters.

POM was successful in using the second method. It used the existing organization of the hotel as its platform. After the hotel closed, POM did not find a comparable base of operations. Many members thought that the organization did not exist any longer. This is evidenced in a discussion with Vicky.

I didn't know that the Parents on the Move Organization still existed within the --- Hotel. Primarily because when Ruth left it seemed as though everything seemed to die down with Parents on the Move. When Ruth was there Parents on the

Move was very much alive, irregardless of the fact of whether you came to the meetings or not she made sure that the residents were informed. She would post things on the bulletin board or something would go under your door. Since she is gone, there is very little continuity.

There was no longer a common ground.

As mentioned previously, POM was successful in using creative and dramatic tactics in its call for public action. For example, POM took over a local PTA meeting and would not leave until they had assurances that the hotel children would not be discriminated against. They even appeared on the Phil Donahue Show.

The ability to achieve a short term goal is strength as well as a weakness for grassroots organizations. Once the hotel was closed and it "seemed" that people got permanent housing, the organization stalled.

In terms of the organization that the POM "wants to be," it must first overcome five problems. First, the problem of resources must be addressed. Fonda mentioned that the organization now had a bank account with a few thousand dollars from a carnival that they sponsored. Mary noted the POM hoped to generate income from fund raisers, the sale of its video, and conducting seminars. However, the leaders had not really tackled the problem of developing a constant source of income. Generating monetary resources, while a problem for most organizations, is a major obstacle for organizations of the homeless and poor.

The easiest accessible resource for the homeless and the poor is their numbers. But, numbers alone do not guarantee political power or clout. One must do more than produce a lengthy membership list. The membership must be heard and felt. They must vote with their feet. This was easier to accomplish when the impending closing of the hotel hung over everyone's heads. Voting as a block was also easier to do when the bulk of the membership concentrated in one neighborhood. That is, the local politicians were forced to listen. City-wide politics is a harder game to play. It requires coalition building.

Both presidents of POM firmly stated that homelessness was a multi-cultural, multi-racial phenomenon that effected all economic strata. However, this was not evidenced by my limited survey of the participants who were mostly poor minorities. The homeless and the poor must convince other groups that their needs coincide with the interests of society as a whole. The POM's most effective organizing tool has been its focus of the welfare of children.

What has to be done is to broaden the spectrum of membership to include working and middle class people. This would lessen the problem the grassroots organizations by the homeless and poor are viewed as special interest groups by the politicians or at worst, plain trouble makers. It is easier for the politicians to pay lip service and ride out the storm because they know the temporary nature of

grassroots organizations. Moreover, it is more expedient for politicians to champion the interests of big business because those interests can be disguised as the "public" interest.

Second, there was problem of leadership in the POM. The transition of leadership is especially problematic for the POM since it required a leader who was dynamic and fearless. If the leader failed to function, the group failed to function. The group tried to solve this problem by instituting a more formalized top leadership structure (e.g., election of officers and by-laws). But, this has tended to blunt the dynamic qualities needed to mobilize the membership.

A third problem was that membership in the organization was self-definitional and notional. It seemed if you thought you were a member, then you were; or if you participated in any group activity, and other people thought you were a member, then you were. Some respondents said that they attended a rap session or two at the hotel but did not consider themselves members. Anna's husband helped lead marches and protest but did not consider himself part of POM. Vicky wanted a more formalized membership. She commented: "If I am a member initiate me. Give me my card or whatever because if there is anything that I can do I will do what I can."

A fourth problem was communication with membership. Many like Vicky thought the movement ended when the hotel closed down. The members were spread out geographically and many did not have phones. Hence, one could no longer just stick a flyer for a meeting under the door.

Finally, there is a problem of momentum. It was hard for the organization to sustain itself after the climax of the closing of the hotel, since people seemed to receive permanent housing. The leaders of the POM thought that the battle may have been won but the war was not over. Homelessness was still a problem. People who were housed can just as easily lose their homes again unless there is a concerted struggle to empower the homeless and the poor. It is this larger issue which must mobilize the call for public action. Vicky commented:

But not only just the housing, I am not looking at it just the housing. NO, no! Listen, listen, housing is a big issue, it is a tremendous issue, money wise, and mentally, and jobs and everything. But I am talking about all the issues straight across the board of which that is a part of it; jobs, education, health, everything.

Therefore, the POM must be organized around the issues of poverty, racism, education, health care, and jobs in addition to housing. The cycle of poverty must be broken.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of the Study

Given the growing homeless population of men, women and children in temporary housing, the researcher was interested in focusing on determining whether a grass roots organization called "Parents on the Move" was perceived by its population as a success or failure. Questions of interest included the following:

- 1) Who are the homeless?
- 2) What do they think are the underlying assumptions concerning homelessness? How do the homeless define homelessness?
- 3) How did the homeless become homeless?
- 4) What are homeless people's experiences as homeless persons?
- 5) What do they think is the solution to the problem of homelessness?
- 6) What kinds of problems do grass roots organizations such as POM have in institutionalizing themselves?

The research paradigm that was used to conduct this study was qualitative. The qualitative data provided the researcher with direct quotations from the informants about their experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and thoughts. The raw data was recorded to reflect the thinking of the participants. The study participants were interviewed in-depth and were tape recorded. Profiles of the participants were constructed. Themes, and metaphors and symbols were catalogued and coded, and then constructed into a narrative around the basic questions on which the study was based. Tables were constructed presenting frequencies and distributions on background variables and responses to the questions listed above. The major findings of the study were that the leaders defined the organization as successful, even though different individuals defined success in quite different terms. The organization was successful in making people feel good about themselves and their homeless situation. It provided support to the residents and helped improve conditions at the hotel. These accomplishments instilled in the participants the courage to handle problems on their own. It is less clear whether POM, through its protests and efforts, caused the closing of the hotel and the successful placement of the residents in permanent housing.

It was also found that POM consisted of two quite different constituencies: those who were politically

committed and willing to engage in social action to better their lives and those who were not politically active, who wanted to make sure that they received their social services. For those who were the more politicized, POM was a greater success than for those who were not. When the hotel was closed, many of the less politicized parents were nostalgic about life in the hotel, since services were provided on site.

Discussion

Homelessness is as old as industrial capitalism with its dislocations of urban and rural populations that occurred in the Seventeenth Century (Kusmer, 1988). In the United States, migrations of rural people to urban centers throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries have been cause for social reforms (Rothman, 1988). In those days, social dislocation was the result of economic such as panics and depressions or natural forces, such as draught and famine. The homeless population that exists in urban America today are primarily the result of governmental policy. The stripping away of the "safety net," the reduction of funds for public housing, the corruption of the Department of Housing and Urban Development by the Reagan Administration, and the general policy of the federal government to turn over social welfare responsibilities to the states while reducing such programs as block grants and

Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) funds has created a fiscal crisis at the state level, especially in highly urbanized states such as Massachusetts, New York, and California.

As state and local officials are overwhelmed by the social welfare problems they have faced, the massive redistribution of wealth from the poor to the wealthy that took place between 1977 and 1990 has resulted in greater numbers of marginal people being thrown into poverty, no longer able to afford housing. In this study, most of the homeless persons interviewed lost their residences because their homes became uninhabitable or they couldn't afford the rent. Therefore, they were either forcibly evicted, or ended up on the street before legal proceedings could be lodged against them.

In this study, the homeless were overwhelmingly poor minority women and their children. These women were oppressed by their poverty and their lack of social supports. Most had at least a high school education. Several who were dependent on husbands or parents became homeless when the family broke up.

As Fannon (1963) wrote, oppression buries itself into the consciousness of the oppressed. The leadership of POM were radicals who wanted to organize the poor and homeless. Many were poor and homeless themselves and saw organizing as a way to improve their lives and the lives of others like

them. There were other members of POM who were not activists, and who were trying to make it from day-to-day. They did not share in the aspirations of the activists to make a better world. They tended to view the struggle as fruitless. Ironically, even the leadership felt that the struggle would ultimately be lost. The difference, however, was that the activists believed that the battle was worth fighting regardless of the outcome.

The example of Malcolm X (Haley, 1969) reflects the conversion of Malcolm Little, the street hustler/small-time hoodlum into a fighter for the oppressed. The major conflict within POM was between those who had a vision of an alternative and those who did not. Friere (1986) wrote that it is the struggle for freedom that makes people free. Those members of POM who struggled against the system were the ones who were best able to make a better life for themselves.

POM was an organization that used non-violent tactics. They were able to involve the media in their struggle. They put pressure on local politicians. They engaged in non-violent demonstrations. They petitioned. They became active in local politics. These are the traditional tactics of grass roots organizations. Lawson (1986) wrote that throughout the 1980s, the power of the landlords increased relative to those of the tenants. One way of attempting to address that imbalance was direct non-violent action.

Conclusion

The data collected in this study revealed that homeless mothers were mainly minorities in their mid-to-late thirties who had about four children. The average stay at the hotel was about two years.

Most of the homeless mothers defined homelessness as a result of larger external forces over which they had no control. The causes of their condition ranged from bad housing, landlord problems, rent problems, fire, marital breakup, drugs and illness. Homelessness was also seen a lack of affiliative bonds. Most worried about the stigma but more so for their children.

This study shows that living in a hotel was dehumanizing. It brought out the worst in people (e.g., crime, drug addiction, and child abuse). POM was there to fill this void. The majority of the respondents considered POM a success because it made them feel good about themselves. The data from this study indicated that it helped them raise their self-esteem and develop survival and coping skills.

POM was successful in its call for public action. It presented the media, the politicians, and the public for the first time a picture of homeless and poor people who were willing to fight to better themselves. Subsequently, the hotel was closed down and the city was prodded to find permanent housing for the residents.

This study shows that there were many lessons to be learned from the experience of the POM. In order for it to continue as a viable grassroots organization, it must address the problems of resources, leadership, membership, communication, and momentum. Finally, the homeless and poor must be empowered to compete in the larger political arena.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study indicates that further research needs to be conducted in the area of grass-roots organizations for the poor and powerless. In order to build a knowledge base, more qualitative studies need to be conducted on the developmental stages of such organizations. Do organizations of and for the poor have the same kind of natural history as organizations for other members of society?

Piven and Cloward (1977) have studied grass-roots organizations of the poor. The most radical, such as the Industrial Workers of the World during the 1920s, and the Black Panther Party during the 1960s were suppressed through the use of state violence. Others such as the large labor unions became huge bureaucracies that were incorporated as junior partners in the big government-big business-big labor hierarchy. Others, such as the National Welfare Rights Organization, were unsuccessful at becoming on-going organizations because the leadership became isolated from

its followership, leading to a withering away of its constituency.

Further study needs to be conducted on organization-environment relationships among organizations for the poor. Organizations of and for the poor are always going to be resource-poor by virtue of their location in the social order. Research should be directed at how these organizations cope with lack of resources, the need for a formal structure, the relationship of leadership to followership, and the definition of goals. Because of the difficulties of organizations of the poor, they are less likely to institutionalize and bureaucratize themselves and the more likely they are to be temporary and directed at a specific issue than other organizations. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct research early in the development of organizations of the poor. In that way, we can learn more about how people with few resources organize themselves.

The already existing government agencies (Federal, State and City), community agencies, human service agencies, and educational organizations need to conduct qualitative studies on the homeless in order to help sensitize personnel around the special needs of this population. For example, government agencies service delivery hours should be revised to include crisis intervention during hours other than 9 to 5, especially on weekends. Qualitative research is needed to explore better use of the community agencies which should

be utilized by the government as a service conduit. Thus, rather than opening up new service offices, the government should allocate those resources to already existing agencies, especially those that are grassroots and have a track record in addressing problems of this nature.

Human service agencies need to find ways of networking with each other in order to minimize fragmentation and duplication of services. The best link between human service agencies which addresses problems of homelessness is the homeless consumer. Those persons who represent leadership among the homeless should be identified and given a greater role in the decision making processes of human service organizations. This can be done by the establishment of an advisory committee or directly appointing such grassroots' leaders to existing professional decision making bodies. The grassroots' leaders would be brought in on a planning level whereby you would have people who are consumers of service with traditional providers. The traditional providers would have the technical expertise and the homeless consumers would have the day-to-day experience. This would provide a mix that could form a marriage so that the programs would reflect the needs of the people and better benefit the target population.

Educational organizations should put an end to those practices that stigmatize and label homeless children; such as labeling their records "homeless" or putting them into

special education classes because they are homeless. They should focus on making the child feel included and a part of the mainstream rather than someone who is inferior to the other students.

APPENDIX A
WELCOME LETTER

Brooklyn Arms Hotel
Office of Hotel Services
268 Ashland Place
Brooklyn, New York 11217

Dear _____ Family

The Management would like to take this opportunity to welcome you to the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. The Brooklyn Arms is a family shelter, primarily housing children and women. Therefore, with such a population, the establishment of a safe and secure environment is a top priority.

There are generally accepted rules that members of the hotel community are asked to follow, out of respect for each other.

All residents must properly check into the hotel. Check-in includes a stop at the Office of Hotel Services.

YOU HAVE BEEN SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH THE OFFICE OF HOTEL SERVICES DIRECTOR, ON _____ AT _____.

YOU AND ALL PERSONS LIVING WITH YOU MUST ATTEND THIS MEETING.

HOTEL MANAGEMENT

APPENDIX B
ORIENTATION CHECK LIST

Brooklyn Arms Hotel
 268 Ashland Place, Brooklyn, NY 11237
 Office of Hotel Services

RE: ORIENTATION CHECK LIST

NAME _____ ROOM _____

The Office of Hotel Services strongly urges you to meet with the Social Service Agencies listed below.

Return the list to the office of Hotel services as soon as it is checked off and completed.

Your cooperation in this matter would help us to facilitate the best possible services for you and your family.

Thank you.

Yours truly

Director of Hotel Services

Agency	Date	Initials	Location
_____ Crisis Intervention	_____	_____	_____
_____ Re-Housing Liaison	_____	_____	_____
_____ Board of Education	_____	_____	_____
_____ Department of Health	_____	_____	_____
_____ Colony House	_____	_____	_____
_____ Bed-Sty. Head Start	_____	_____	_____
_____ Victim Services	_____	_____	_____
_____ Youth Services	_____	_____	_____
_____ So. Brooklyn H.C.	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX C
RULES AND REGULATIONS

Brooklyn Arms Hotel
268 Ashland Place,
Brooklyn, NY 11217

Brooklyn Arms Hotel
Rules and Regulations
For Hotel Occupancy

(1) No illegal drugs are permitted anywhere in the hotel. Residents found in possession of/or using illegal drugs, will be requested to leave immediately.

(2) As most of the people within the hotel are children who must awake early for school, or in summer, day-camp, quiet hours are in effect from 11:00 p.m. to 7:30 a.m. The volume of radios, record players, and TV sets should be kept low. Your door should be kept closed so that those who wish to sleep, will not be disturbed.

(3) Any violation of city, state, or federal criminal codes within the hotel or the area around the hotel grounds, will be a violation of this agreement.

(4) The person(s) registered, and/or family members shall not endanger the well-being and safety of any occupant, employee, member or visitor to the Brooklyn Arms Hotel (B.A.H) or the surrounding area and community.

(5) The person(s) registered, and/or family members shall not cause any waste, destruction, or damage to the B.A.H.

(6) The person(s) registered shall pay rent on time.

(7) All person(s) living within the hotel room must be on the approved N.Y.C. Human Resources Administration budget.

(8) The lodging quarters assigned may be secured only with the lock supplied, and Management and its employees are entitled to access at all times for inspections, repairs, services and maintenance. Room checks will also take place.

(9) Throwing anything from the window is prohibited by law, as well as being dangerous to pedestrians.

(10) All School age children must be enrolled and attending school.

(11) All pre-school age children should be enrolled within a day-care program.

(12) School age children are prohibited by law from being within the hallways, lobby, or any other public place within the B.A.H. during school hours.

(13) Children - eighteen (18) years of age and younger, are not to be left alone within the hotel. They are not to be wandering the hallways or staircases of the hotel.

(14) No pets.

I have read a copy of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel rules and regulations and I understand that I, and all within my care, have an obligation to be considerate and respect the rights and properties of others. I understand that I, and all within my care, will be asked to leave the B.A.H. if any part(s) of the above rules and regulations are violated. I understand and agree to all of the above.

Signature

Date

HOTEL MANAGEMENT

Form W-154H (HRA 5-1)
Administration
10/85 - copy
Services

Human Resources
Crisis Intervention

APPENDIX D
ASSESSMENT SURVEY
HOTEL ROOM ASSESSMENT SURVEY

1. HOTEL: _____ 2. ROOM NO. (S) _____
3. CHECK-IN DATE: ____/____/____ 4. INSPECTION DATE: ____/____/____ 5.
Client: _____ 6. FAMILY COMPOSITION: _____
SEX & AGES OF CHILDREN: _____
7. NO. OF ROOMS PROVIDED: _____
8. INDICATED ROOM CONDITIONS - Without client consent, the
room cannot be occupied until the following problems are
eliminated:
_____ cascading leaks _____ fallen ceiling
_____ exposed wiring _____ no outer door locks
_____ broken glass _____ no smoke detectors
_____ rodents
Other _____

SUMMARY

A. _____ no indicated conditions
B. _____ indicated room conditions do exist and the
following _____ actions were taken:

9. OTHER CONDITIONS REQUIRING CORRECTIVE ACTION BY MANAGEMENT:

10. A CRIB WAS APPROPRIATELY REQUESTED FOR THIS ROOM BECAUSE THERE IS A CHILD UNDER THE AGE FOUR.

	Yes	No	N/A
--	-----	----	-----

_____ I accept this hotel room
_____ I refuse to accept this room because it is not in
compliance with one or more of the hotel room standards.

CLIENT'S NAME _____ HOTEL _____ ROOM _____
 CLIENT'S SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____
 SHELTER WORKER _____ PHONE NO. _____

APPENDIX E
SOCIAL SERVICES COALITION GOALS AND PRIORITIES

January, 1988

Goals and Priorities of the Social Services Coalition of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel.

The Social Services Coalition of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel is convinced that a hotel like the Brooklyn Arms can be a decent place for families to live and raise their children: that the Brooklyn Arms provide a safe and secure environment to enable families not just to "survive", but to "grow".

The long length of stay of families in the hotel presents an opportunity for the Coalition to work intensively with the families to help them achieve their full potential. We can help them solve at least some of the problems which may have contributed to their homelessness, and help them develop the skills and abilities needed to better make the transition from living in the hotel to independent living in the community. We can help families strengthen their feelings of self-esteem and self-worth, and help them develop a more positive outlook toward the future.

To this end the Social Services Coalition has established goals and priorities and the social service agencies have joined together in a concerted effort to provide a comprehensive and effective service delivery and family support system for the Brooklyn Arms Hotel.

Priority I: To establish and maintain a safe, secure, and decent environment in which to live and work.

Families cannot flourish and social service agencies cannot provide meaningful service in an environment of squalor and neglect. Where lawless behavior is permitted unchecked, and violence or the threat of violence has become a way of life, even the best intended social service programs will flounder and the most compassionate and dedicated worker will be met with hostility and distrust.

To establish and maintain a safe, and decent environment within the hotel has been and must remain a top priority of the Social Services Coalition.

Over the past two years the management of the hotel with the full cooperation and support of the Coalition and HRA Task force on the homeless has taken a number of important steps to improve conditions of hotel residents and the working conditions of social service staff. A new

visitation policy has been established and strictly enforced, and steps have been taken to ensure that lawless elements from the outside cannot come into the hotel and set up shop. The hotel security force has been increased and up-graded. Through a series of meetings with hotel management we have worked out methods to deal with the most serious problems in the hotel in a systematic and consistent way. Through the establishment and expansion of the Office of Hotel Services the present managers have demonstrated their commitment to support the Coalition in its efforts and to expand social services within the hotel, and to improve the quality for hotel residents.

Through this partnership of hotel management and social service agencies there has been a clear and demonstrable improvement in both living condition of the hotel residents and the working conditions of social service staff. Although much more needs to be done in the area, we have shown that the Brooklyn Arms Hotel can provide a decent environment in which to live and work.

Priority II: To provide a quality education for every child in the hotel.

Low school registration, poor attendance, a high drop-out rate, and below average academic achievement of hotel children are problems which have plagued the family hotel program since its inception.

From its very earliest days our Social Services Coalition has had as one of its top priorities a quality education for every child and young person in the hotel. Through the efforts of our on-site Board of Education staff and with the support and encouragement of every social worker in the hotel we have now achieved almost 100 percent school registration.

One of the Coalition's earliest inter-agency emphasis was "good attendance is a key to learning", and some of early posters can still be seen around the hotel. The coalition has now developed a "positive incentive program" to further encourage and award good school attendance.

Through our "Back to School" street fair, at the start of each school year, the Coalition, with the full support and cooperation of the management of the hotel, seeks to emphasize the importance of getting a good education and supplies (notebooks, paper, pencils erasers, crayons, rulers, etc...) needed to start school.

Any physical examinations or inoculations that may be needed can be provided by our on-site health center or arranged through our Department of Health nurses.

Registration and good attendance are only the first steps toward our goal of a quality education for every child and young person in the hotel. Through our Education Committee and our general discussions the Coalition tries to identify other educational needs. A number of our service agencies now provide educational programs to supplement those available through the public schools. Our best count at the end of the last school year showed over 175 children and young people from the hotel participating in some type of educational enrichment program.

The Social services Coalition also encourages parent (s) to take a more active role in the education of their children and to participate more fully in the life of the local schools.

Through project Hotel LYFE and our Task Force on Teenage Pregnancy, the Coalition encourages teenage parents to continue their education, either by returning to regular school classes in schools where child care is provided, or by attending one of our GED programs to prepare for the high school equivalency diploma.

The Social Services Coalition will continue to do everything we can to guarantee a quality education for our children our children and young people, and to provide every educational opportunity for each child or young person to achieve his (her) full potential.

Priority III: To provide better health care and more adequate nutrition for families in the hotel.

Studies on the local and national levels indicate that living in a hotel environment tends to adversely affect the general health care and nutrition for pregnant women, for new born's, and for parenting teens.

Two of our earliest committees were Health Services and our Task Force on Teenage Pregnancy. The Brooklyn Arms was one of the first hotels target for project HOTEL LYFE to work specifically with pregnant and parenting teens.

Through the efforts of our Social Services Coalition, the HRA Task Force on the Homeless, and the management of the hotel we are now able to provide on-site health care services, at least on a part-time basis, through the South Brooklyn Health Center. We also now have a full-time, full

service WIC center in the hotel. Department of Health Services have also been expanded.

The present hotel management have clearly indicated their commitment to the improvement and expansion of health care services for hotel families. They have on many occasions expressed their desire to establish a full-time, full-service health clinic in the hotel as soon as space is available.

Through our health Services Committee and general discussions the coalition has identified other health care needs of the families in the hotel, such as mental health services, drug and alcohol treatment and rehabilitation programs, family planning services, etc., and have tried to find resources in the community to meet those needs.

For the past two summers a hot lunch program has been provided for children in the hotel, and the Salvation Army is now providing a hot meal service for hotel residents. Approximately 300 meals are served every night to families from the hotel.

Through our on-site WIC center supplementary food benefits are available to pregnant women, newborns, and young children. In addition several of our agencies now have surplus food distribution programs, food pantries, and/or emergency food supplies.

The Social Services Coalition will continue its efforts to improve and expand health care and nutrition programs for hotel families and to improve the general level of health and nutrition of hotel residents.

Priority IV: To provide youth and young adults with greater opportunity for recreation, continuing education, vocational training and employment, and cultural enrichment.

It has been said that youth are at one time both our greatest asset and our greatest challenge. No where is that more true than in a hotel such as the Brooklyn Arms. To guide and assist our young people through this often difficult but most formative period of their lives requires the combined resources of all our Social Services Coalition and has always given a high priority to meeting the needs of young people and young adults.

Our Social Services Coalition has tried to find positive ways to help our young people cope with problems such as alcoholism, drug addiction, sexual behavior, and social and cultural identity. Through recreation, social activities, educational and cultural, enrichment the Social

Services Coalition has tried to provide positive outlets for the normal drives and energy of youth and young adults.

The management of the hotel has also indicated that on-site recreational and community center facilities for youths are part of their long term goals for the hotel. At the present time space limitations remain a serious problem.

Through continuing education, vocational counseling and employment programs the Coalition seeks to provide meaningful alternatives for our young people and were able to secure part-time jobs through the Summer Youth Employment Program and other young people were engaged in a variety of volunteer activities and services. Through individual counseling, group discussions and "rap sessions" our young people are encouraged to work through their problems, to develop positive goals and objectives for their lives and to develop a sense of identity and a more positive outlook toward the future.

Priority V: To provide adequate day care and child care for hotel families

Many of the new families entering the hotel are younger families with younger children, and in the past year there has been a substantial increase in the number of infants and pre-school age children in the hotel. At the present time the largest single age group in the hotel are infants between the ages of 6 months and 1 year and there are over 200 children under the age of two.

This underlines the need for greatly expanded facilities and child care facilities for our hotel families. Our present programs, Nat Turner Day Care and Bedford Stuyvesant Head Start are only able to service a relatively small percentage of the total pre-school population, and neither can provide care for infants or toddlers (under 2 1/2 years).

Plans for a "drop-in" day care center have also been discussed, but thus far have not materialized. The management of the hotel has discussed the possibility of an on-site day care facility as part of their long term plans for the hotel, but until such time as space in the hotel is available the Coalition will make every effort to find day care programs in the community to meet the increased need for these services.

Without adequate child care facilities parents often feel overwhelmed and trapped within the hotel. This can lead to child abuse or neglect, and especially to the highly dangerous practice of leaving children unattended in the

hotel rooms. All of our service agencies report an increase in such incidents over the past year.

Priority VI: To assist hotel families to make the transition from homeless to independent living in the community.

Although many of the programs of our service agencies are directed toward meeting the needs of children and young people, the Social Services Coalition also recognizes the needs of parents and other adult residents in the hotel.

Parent organizations and family support groups can help families develop a sense of self-esteem and self-worth and can help hotel families develop a healthier attitude and a more positive outlook toward the future. Programs such as Borean's "Good Samaritan Family Services" can help hotel families develop the basic home management skill needed for independent living.

Adult education, vocational counseling, and job training programs can be a bridge between living in the hotel and living in the community, and can, in some cases, even help families break the cycle of welfare dependency.

Many of our service agencies try to assist families to find permanent housing and to move out of the hotel, and efforts are being made at many levels to make more permanent housing available until enough permanent housing becomes available our Social Services Coalition will do everything we can to improve the quality of life within the hotel and to help hotel families lead more productive and meaningful lives, and to prepare them for the transition from living in the hotel to living in the community.

APPENDIX F
ISSUES AND LEGISLATION, 1988

Legislative History

Past Congresses responded with legislation that may be described as "emergency" in nature, largely because homelessness initially was seen as a temporary crisis. The major programs that resulted were the Emergency Food and Shelter Program (P.L.98.8) funded through the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) administered by the Department of Agriculture (P.L. 98. 92). Laws also were modified to make it easier for homeless individuals to benefit from existing Federal programs, e.g., making Medicaid, AFDC. and Supplemental Social Security Income (SSI) available to otherwise qualified persons who lacked a home or a fixed mailing address (P.L. 99.198 and P.L. 99.570).

When the 100th Congress began, legislative efforts to expand assistance to the homeless were among the first items on the agenda. Seeking to make additional Federal monies available for the homeless quickly, Congress passed H.J.Res. 102 (P.L. 100-6), a supplemental appropriation act permitting \$45 million previously appropriated for disaster relief to be used for FEMA's emergency food and shelter program and another \$5 million to be used by the Veteran's Administration (VA) to provide services to homeless mentally ill veterans. The resolution passed both Houses by large margins, and was signed into law by President Reagan on Feb. 12, 1987.

The major homeless aid bill of the first session of the 100th Congress, H.R. 558, brought together measures recommended by the House Agriculture, Banking, and Energy and Commerce Committees. The Senate bill likewise integrated measures recommended by the Agriculture, Banking and Housing, Labor and Human Resources, Governmental Affairs, and Veterans Affairs Committees. Most of the measures were packaged together in S. 809, which was incorporated into H.R. 558 when the House-passed bill was brought up on the Senate floor.

The primary emphasis of both the House and Senate bills was on housing for the homeless with expanded health services as a secondary emphasis. After conferees for the House and Senate reached agreement on the bill, the president signed it into law on July 22, 1987, as P.L. 100-77, the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act.

Congress also passed H.R. 1827, a supplemental appropriations bill that included \$355 million in FY87 appropriations for major programs primarily benefiting the homeless. The President signed the supplemental appropriation bill into law on July 11, 1987, as P.L. 100-71.

Many of the programs that the McKinney Act authorizes have received FY88 funds through the Continuing Resolution for 1988 (P.L. 100-202). These appropriations include the following: \$114 million for FEMA's Emergency Food and Shelter programs; \$65 millions for HUD's Transitional and Supportive Housing program; \$14.4 million for DHH's Community Health Services for the Homeless; \$19.1 million for DHHS's Community Mental Health Services for the Homeless; and \$9.6 million for the Department of labor's job training for the Homeless program.

Advocates for the homeless have observed that the funds appropriated for FY88 fall far short of the authorizing levels set in the McKinney Act and are below the FY87 appropriations. Members of the House have introduced legislation to make an emergency supplemental FY88 appropriation for homeless assistance, H.J.Res. 490. If enacted as introduced, this bill would add \$263 million to the FY88 funding levels for the McKinney Act programs.

Legislation to reauthorize and expand the McKinney Act has been introduced in the House for the second session of the 100th congress. H.R. 4352 omnibus legislation that would authorize more than \$700 million for homeless assistance in FY89 and FY90. Spin-off bills covering housing (H.R. 4351) and health care for homeless (H.R. 4003) also have been introduced. The House Agriculture, Banking, Energy and Commerce, and Education and Labor Committees are handling the sections of the omnibus McKinney bill that fall within their purview.

The question of "welfare hotels" is being considered in the context of welfare programs as well as homelessness. H.R. 4352, the legislation reauthorizing the McKinney Act, and H.R. 4237 include provisions that address the problem of "welfare hotels" and offer demonstration programs designed to phase out the practice.

Although an omnibus bill to reauthorize the Mckinney Act has not been introduced in the Senate, legislation to extend several of the programs for the homeless is receiving action. The Senate Committee on labor and Human Resources has included the reauthorization of the mental health block grant for the homeless and the demonstration grants for chronically mentally ill homeless and for substance abusing

homeless as part of S. 1943, which would reauthorize many of the alcohol and drug abuse and mental health programs under the Public Health Service Act. The senate Labor and Human Resources Committee also approved the reauthorization of the community health services for the homeless program as part of S. 2385, The Family Health Services Amendments Act of 1988. The Senate Banking Committee has ordered favorably reported, but not yet introduced, legislation to extend the authorizations of the HUD and FEMA programs of the McKinney Act through FY90.

In addition, the 100th Congress in discussing runaways and homeless children. The House passed H.R. 1801, which includes the reauthorization of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program as part of the Juvenile justice and Delinquency prevention Amendments of 1988. Similar legislation (s. 1250) has been referred to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, which recently held hearings.

LEGISLATION

H.R. 4352 (Vento)

Reauthorizes the following McKinney Act benefits for the homeless and Interagency Task Force on Homeless; the FEMA Emergency Food and Shelter program; HUD programs for emergency shelter, supportive housing, and supplemental assistance; the identification and use of surplus Federal property; the DHHS programs for primary health care, substance abuse services, community mental health care, and emergency community services; the Education Department programs for adult education and education for children and youth; the Labor programs for job training; the USDA program for Temporary Emergency Food Assistance (TEFAP). Incorporates the following benefits for the homeless into its McKinney Act authority: the VA's domiciliary care program for chronically mentally ill veterans who are homeless; and, the VA's job training program for homeless veterans. Adds the following new features: clarifies and specifies the eligibility of religious organizations for HUD's homeless grant programs; specifies that DHHS cannot promulgate regulations proposed to limit use of EA and AFDC for homeless families, but allows DHHS to restrict funds in jurisdictions that have not made substantial progress in providing transitional housing; establishes an Emergency Assistance Rehousing Program of demonstration projects to offer incentives for landlords to rent to homeless families who would otherwise reside in commercial, transient accommodations. Introduced March 31, 1988; referred to Committees on Agriculture, on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, on Education and Labor, on Energy and Commerce, on

Veteran's Affairs and on Ways and Means. Ordered favorably reported by Committee on Energy and Commerce May 17, 1988.

H.R. 1801 (House passed)

Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Amendments of 1988. Includes as Section 2(b) the reauthorization of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program. Introduced March 25, 1988; referred to Committee on Education Labor. Reported (H.Rept. 100-605) May 5. Passed House (377-5) June 1, 1988.

H.R. 4003 (Leland)

Health Care for the Homeless Act of 1988. Extends the community health services for the homeless program; increases the amount of matching funds required; provides for temporary continuation of services to certain formerly homeless individuals. Introduced February 24, 1988; referred to Committee on Energy and Commerce. Subcommittee on health and the Environment held hearings February 26, 1988.

H.R. 4024 (Leland)

Affordable Permanent Housing for the Homeless Act of 1988 provides for: additional Section 8 low income housing assistance; Section 8 moderate housing rehabilitation; public housing acquisition; and, rental housing rehabilitation grants to prevent homelessness. Introduced February 25, 1988; referred to Committee on Banking, Finance and urban Affairs.

H.R. 4237 (Green)

Amends Part A of Title IV of the Social Security Act. Provides special needs allowances and emergency assistance for homeless under AFDC program; limits use of welfare hotels as shelter for homeless families; establishes a demonstration program to minimize the use of welfare hotels by encouraging availability of permanent housing for needy families. Introduced March 23, 1988; referred to Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 4351 (Vento)

McKinney Housing and Shelter for the Homeless Reauthorization Act of 1988. Extends the authorization of the HUD and FEMA programs enacted by the McKinney Act FY89 and FY90. Approved as amended, by Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development June 3, 1988.

H.J. Res. 490 (Lowry)

Emergency supplemental FY88 appropriations for homeless, including: as part of HUD, \$35 million for Section 8, single room occupancy (SRO) housing, \$112 million for emergency shelter grants, \$35 million for supportive housing demonstration projects, \$25 million for supplemental

assistance; as part of FEMA, \$10 million for emergency food and shelter; as part of DHHS \$15 million for community health services for the homeless, \$10 million for community mental health services for the homeless, and \$21 million for emergency community services for the homeless. Introduced March 10, 1988; referred to Committee on Appropriations.

S. 1250 (Biden)

Criminal and Juvenile Justice Partnership Act of 1987. Includes as Section 211, the reauthorization of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program. Introduced May 20, 1987; referred the Committee on the Judiciary. Hearing held May 13, 1988.

S. 1943 (Kennedy)

Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Amendments of 1988. Includes the reauthorization of the mental health block grant for the homeless and the demonstration grants for chronically mentally ill homeless and for substance abusing homeless. Introduced December 11, 1987; referred to Committee on labor and Human Resources. Reported with an amendment in the nature of a substitute (S.Rept. 100-328) May 4, 1988.

S. 2385 (Kennedy)

Family health Services Amendments Act of 1988. Title II reauthorizes the community health services for the homeless program. Introduced May 13, 1988; referred to Committee on Labor and Human Resources. Reported (H.Rept. 100-343) May 13. Passed Senate, amended, May 13, 1988.

APPENDIX G
PRESS RELEASES

The following press releases and newspaper articles show the chronology of the closing of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel and the role that Parents on the Move played.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE

The Grief of Death, and Hotel Life

"Barbara Young stood at the window of her 16th-Floor apartment yesterday with one thought on her mind: to leave the place where her son and another man fell to their deaths, and where even in the best of times everyone feels like a victim."

"Young lives at the Brooklyn Arms welfare hotel, 268 Ashland Pl. in Brooklyn. On Saturday, her son Anthony, 22, and Jerome Ford, 18, were killed after dropping 15 flights down the freight- elevator shaft."

"I can't stay here any longer," Young, 45, said.

"The latest deaths have brought new attention to the 262-unit hotel, where many residents complain of unsafe conditions and the exorbitant rents paid by the city. "I'm trying to get the hell out of here," said one resident who asked not to be identified."

"This place isn't fit for rats."

"Relatives of the dead men said yesterday that Anthony Young and Ford were "tussling" Saturday after midnight, when one of them bumped up against the elevator door and it suddenly opened."

"It was the second time someone had died in an elevator accident at then building. On Feb. 15, 1985, elevator operator Romuald Belot, was crushed to death when an elevator began to move, trapping him between the car and the landing."

"This elevator was faulty too," said Young, who was at the scene Saturday morning and watched her son and Ford take their fatal fall."

"The hotel general manager yesterday maintained that Anthony Young and Ford were fighting so hard that the elevator door got kicked in, causing it to open."

"At the nearby House of the Lord Church yesterday, the Rev. Herbert Daughtry officiated at funeral services for Ford, and the minister called on mourners to change conditions at welfare hotels such as the Brooklyn Arms."

July 18, 1986

"Welfare kids laid to rest" A homeless couple said goodbye to their four children yesterday during a moving funeral service in which New York was challenged to end the "indescribable misery" of its "huddled masses."

"Clutching one another, Edwin Alvarez, 30, and his wife Susanna 27, sat a few feet from four small white caskets containing the bodies of their children, who died a week ago in a fire at the Brooklyn Arms, a dilapidated welfare hotel."

"Another hotel resident Evelyn Ford 41, mother of Jerome Ford, an 18 year old who died after falling down an elevator shaft at the hotel, fainted as the caskets were placed in four hearses outside Our Lady of Charity Church in Crown Heights."

"Services for the teen was held at the same church less than a month ago and was attended by many of the same mourners."

'Liturgy of Homecoming'

"The Alvarez children-Josephine, 7, Edwin Jr., 6, Maria, 2 and Daniel, 1 1/2-are believed to have been playing with matches. Their parents have been charged with endangerment for allegedly leaving them alone."

"Several times during the "Liturgy of Homecoming" yesterday, the couple and other relatives cried uncontrollably as a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister made pointed and emotional references to the plight of the homeless amid the plenty of New York."

"This scene is happening all over Brooklyn, all over New York, and it is hurting all of us spiritually, mentally and psychologically," said the Rev. Robert C. Seay, the church's pastor.

"We raise edifices so high they kiss the sky, yet we can't find the wherewithal to build adequate housing," added the Rev. Herbert Daughtry.

A pointed question

"How long do we have to put up with this misery? How long must this be allowed to continue?" Seay asked, looking directly at Howard Golden, Borough President of Brooklyn."

"Seay called Alvarez children "prophets" for focusing attention on the misery of the homeless."

"Sharonnie Perry, a social worker who helped arrange yesterday's service and the burial on Staten Island, said the parents were broke and had gone to collect redeemable cans and bottles a half hour before the fire. The cost of the funeral and burial is being borne by a number of charitable groups and the city."

July 18, 1986

4 Kids Killed in Fire Mourned

"A priest yesterday eulogized four children who died in a fire at their welfare hotel apartment last week, and he called on the politicians, journalists and others at the funeral to improve conditions for the poor."

"If you can't do anything about it, there is no reason for this service," said the Rev. Robert Seay, pastor of Our Lady of Charity Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

"The four children of Edwin and Susanna Alvarez died in the fire Friday night at the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. Fire officials say the blaze started apparently as one of the children played with matches, and police have charged the parents with negligence for leaving them alone in the apartment."

"Throughout the service, the grief-stricken mother, Susanna, 27 kept her head buried in the chest of her husband, Edwin, 30. At one point, the father stared ahead and began to move his lips softly in sync with an emotional rendition of the popular song, "The Greatest Love," sung by Sandra Nix."

"How does one console a family that has lost all of their children?" Seay asked his eulogy.

"Among the public officials attending the funeral were Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden and Assemb. Al Vann (D-Brooklyn). The Rev. Herbert Daughtry delivered a eulogy in which he said the dead children were victims of "contradictions" in our society. "We can put people on the moon, but we can't put people in decent housing," Daughtry said."

"The dead children were Josefina 7, Edwin, 5, Maria, 2, and Daniel, 18 months."

The parents have refused to talk with reporters, but a social worker who knows them says they have been suffering intensely. "They are blaming themselves," said Sharonnie Perry, an employee of the Colony-South Brooklyn Houses agency, who works at the welfare hotel.

"Several community organizations combined their contributions to help pay the \$5,530 cost of the funeral."

"As the funeral was taking place, the Koch administration announced it was increasing funeral allowances for poor people, from \$250 to \$900, effective immediately."

"Officials said the decision would cost the city about \$1 million this year."

July 29, 1986

Fatal Fire Inspires a Social Worker to Press On

"Nothing happens by accident or without reason, says Sharonnie Perry. Even in the midst of chaos, there is order, a divine order," she says.

"We may not know why things happen and we may not understand at the time. But eventually we will know, even if we have to go through a lot of pain to get to that point."

"There is a purpose to everything. There's a purpose to life and there's a purpose to death. Sometimes it takes a long time before this is revealed to us and sometimes we can see what God has intended right away."

It took a while for Perry to arrive at her fatalistic beliefs. It took time and the stabbing death of her father during a robbery in 1971 to bring her "to the point of knowing that you are not taken from this earth until your time is up."

"There is no sense in questioning why these things happen. The only thing you can do is to question what they mean to those of us who are left behind, what is the message in their deaths."

"Her father's death 15 years ago, she said, was the turning point in her life. It gave her the courage to care about others. And in a strange way-she would probably contend that this, too, is the natural order of things-it linked her

to the lives of literally thousands of people who have looked to her for solace, help, solutions."

"It has linked her to desperate people. People who talked about their problems in Spanish and Creole. Junkies looking for a way out. Homeless people looking for a way in. People whose bodies were yielding to disease. People whose minds already were."

"For the last three years, Perry has been running the Nat Turner Day Care Center in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel, the single-room- occupancy shelter where six people, two teen-agers and four young children, died tragically over a three-week period. The center is a satellite program of Colony-South Brooklyn Houses, the borough's largest social service agency."

"Close to 250 families, including 963 children, call the violation-ridden hotel in the borough's Fort Greene section home. The Alvarez family was one of them."

"Edwin Alvarez, 30, and his wife, Susanna, 27, were made homeless two years ago by a fire in their rundown apartment building," Perry said.

"He saved the children by throwing them out of the window to people in the street," she said.

"With both of them unemployed, they couldn't afford the rents for decent housing-not even with public assistance, which grants a family of six a \$308-a-month allowance for rent. So they were moved into a single room in the city-subsidized hotel. In Room 210, just six doors away from Perry's office, the Alvarezes and their children Josefina, 7; Edwin, 5; Maria, 2; and Daniel, 18 months "stayed together but pretty much to themselves."

"They were good people," she said.

"On July 10, Susanna asked Perry whether she would be distributing food packages that Colony South-Brooklyn Houses regularly gives the hotel residents, especially to families with children. "I had to tell her that we wouldn't be giving out food packages because our funds were late in coming. She told me that her welfare check was late."

"The following day, Susanna and Edwin, leaving their children in the room with instructions to watch television, went out on a hunt for bottles. It was something they had done "a few times when money was short," Perry said, to feed their family. By the time they got back, within a half-hour, the children were dead-killed in a fire officials

suggested they might have started accidentally. The Alvarezes were charged with and jailed for endangering the welfare of their children. "

"Perry was among a group of activists and elected officials who secured their release. She helped raise funds for the children's funeral which took place at our Lady of Charity Church in Bedford-Stuyvesant, a progressive Black parish in which perry is very active. She helped relocate the Alvarezes with relatives and is trying to arrange for outpatient counseling and therapy for them. And she'll be in court with them on July 29 when they respond to the endangerment and neglect charges against them."

In the meantime, Perry says he has found the hidden meaning in the children's deaths.

"They were martyrs," she said, "martyrs for this city's homeless and poor people. They were taken away from this earth in a tragic way but they have opened many, many doors.

"They have made the politicians come together to understand that the important thing is to work together to make the lives of the people better. At their funeral we saw people who were opposed to each other put their political barriers aside and commit themselves to working collectively to solve this problem. They have made the city administration understand that the people who suffer the most are the children."

"For years we've been trying to get through to the city to let them know that in a building with 963 children of all ages providing day-care for 100 children 2.9 to 5 years is not enough. And this is just one of 55 homeless shelters and hotels in the city. You can see right away that the victims are the children."

"People can get apartments in Battery Park City for the kind of money the city pays for the rooms at the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. And for that money they'll get security, marble hallways, excellent services and a good view. But the city would rather keep people in places like this. It's got to be kickbacks involved."

"The environment in welfare hotels is not good. It's not healthy. It can have negative physical and psychological effects on you-all kinds of people from all kinds of places, you don't know who to trust, you don't know who to talk to."

"For example, the people call the hotel the 'Death Hole.' Everybody is afraid to get into the elevators

since Jerome Ford and Anthony Young fell 15 stories through the elevator shaft. In the last 14 months, 17 people have died, most of them young people. I remember when the Challenger blew up, they sent psychiatrists to the schools to calm down the children who had witnessed it. No psychiatrist will ever come to the Brooklyn Arms to deal with the people's fears about their living conditions or with the children who saw the Alvarez children's bodies being thrown through the window."

"I can't understand why they're so quick to report that the children were playing with matches and that's what caused the fire. People in the building have been complaining that they get sparks when they plug in or unplug appliances, but management has done nothing. Edwin Alvarez told them the same thing and that he wanted a new refrigerator because it was sparking but they didn't replace the refrigerator. In a building with 550 violations people would rather believe it was the children's fault. I saw the room and I know that that was no fire started by matches."

"These children's deaths have made me realize that we cannot give up; that would be the easy way. I believe the creator is sending us the message that we all have to care, to do something, to make life better, especially for the children of this city. They are the ones who are the victims."

Self-Help at a Shelter

December 7, 1986

"In past years, the mothers at the Brooklyn Arms Hotel say, they looked on helplessly as the squalor and crime overwhelmed the homeless families there."

"Now they say they believe that they have taken a step toward controlling their own lives. They have joined in a group involved with life in the hotel and in the surrounding Fort Greene community."

"Politicians and community activists say the formation of the group, Parents on the Move, and its success in tackling issues has disproved that homeless people are apathetic about politics."

"They are the beginning of what we will see in the future as strong organized associations of homeless

people demanding their rights," said Constance Lesoid, president of the Parkway Independent Democrats in Brooklyn and an official of Community Board 8. "It's been said that homeless are impossible to organize because of all their problems. They've proven they can."

Started by Social Worker

"Assemblyman Roger L. Green, a Democrat who last month won re-election in the 57th District with the help of some members of the group, said that in the last school board election, the group outvoted many other housing complexes in Fort Greene."

"The group was begun two years ago by Sharonnie Perry, a social worker at the hotel, to register newly arriving children for day care. But it rapidly evolved into something more. Because she could not be at the hotel 24 hours a day, Ms. Perry said, "a self-sustaining group of parents was needed to provide moral support for new residents and to encourage people to handle problems on their own."

"A lot of times, people came into the hotel with no direction about where to go or what they were going to do," she said. "This resulted in a lot of frustration and inactivity, and people very quickly got into a slump and lost ambition to change their lives."

"Officials were brought in from Legal Services and city agencies, and Ms. Perry, a former caseworker for Assemblyman Albert Vann of Brooklyn, sought and received the assistance of Mr. Vann, Mr. Green and other politicians."

"As the group tackled such problems as broken fire alarms and loitering, it evolved into an advocacy group for other issues. When the city announced plans for the nearby Atlantic Terminal renewal project rallies, wrote officials and demanded that their hotel not be torn down."

"When four children died in fires at the hotel, the women held rallies to draw attention to the plight of the homeless and collected money to bury the children."

"Borough President Howard Golden, who has been on the receiving side of the group's barbs, said that although he understood the "frailties and frustrations" of members of Parents on the Move, he often reminds them that the underlying cause is being homeless, not other people."

"The group has criticized Councilwoman Mary Pinkett, a Democrat who represents the neighborhood, for not being sensitive to the homelessness issue. But, Ms. Pinkett said, some mothers in the group had forgotten the help politicians had given to improve the Brooklyn Arms. "They can be positive community and political force," she said, "if they examine issues carefully. But they're being used by people who know they can be angry."

July 14, 1988

"Parents on the Move, an organization of homeless families in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel together with members of the Hotel Tenants' Rights Organization - a group of homeless women from the Martinique Hotel and The Homeless Client's Advisory Committee - a group homeless men and women living in city-run shelters will be lobbying and protesting at City Hall at 2:00 P.M. on Thursday, July 14, 1988. "

"Parents On The Move, Hotel Tenants' Rights Organization and The Homeless Client's Advisory Committee are gathering to support HOMEWARD BOUND COMMUNITY SERVICES in their on-going VIGIL to address the homeless crisis, and to protest buildings from being voted into P.O.M.P. (Private Ownership Management Program), a City Program that would make more people homeless."

"The organizations will also lobby to support HJC's (Housing Justice Campaign) Resolution 928A in Land use Policy and INTRO 369, and Anti-Warehousing Bill."

"I congratulate and support the men and women and children who for 44 days have maintained a constant vigil at City Hall despite many problems and harassment. If RESO 928A and INTRO 369 was in effect there would be a dent made in the homeless situation."

January 4, 1989

"IMPORTANT NOTICE" HRA

"Effective January 4, 1989 the Human Resources Administration will no longer refer families to the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. It is the intent of the Human Resources Administration to relocate all families currently residing in the hotel by May 31, 1989."

For families that entered the HRA Homeless System before June 30, 1988:

"If your family entered the HRA Homeless System before June 30, 1988 HRA will provide you with three (3) opportunities to ride an HRA Van to visit rentable apartments".

"If you are eligible for an HRA apartment and refuse to accept an apartment or fail to keep three scheduled Van ride appointments CIS will request that your emergency hotel shelter allowance (hotel rent) be discontinued".

Do not let this happen.

"If your family entered the HRA Homeless System after June 30, 1988 you are eligible for transfer to a Tier II or Family Center Facility."

(65%) of the families living in the hotel were eligible for the Van Service.

(35%) of the families living in the hotel were eligible for the Tier II facilities.

DAILY NEWS ARTICLE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1989

"CITY SET TO VACATE ARMS PIT" BY MARCIA KRAMER

"The Brooklyn Arms, long a symbol of the dangerous and unhealthy conditions in the city's welfare hotels, will be emptied of homeless families by this summer. Koch said."

"The announcement comes a day before the City is scheduled for a showdown in the Manhattan Supreme court with the Legal Aid Society over putting the homeless in dangerous and unsanitary lodgings."

DAILY NEWS ARTICLE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1989

"JAY TO ED: EXAGGERATOR!" BY TOM ROBBINS

"Instead of almost 11,000 apartments for homeless families the city's Housing Department claimed to have renovated as of July 1987, the true number was closer to 5,600, according to a survey by Comptroller, Harrison Goldin."

DAILY NEWS ARTICLE

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1989

"UP IN ARMS OVER HOTEL CITY SAYS IT'S BUILDING PERMANENT HOUSING FOR HOMELESS" BY JARED McALLISTER"

"More than 500 residents of the huge welfare hotel, at Ashland Place and Lafayette Avenue in the Fort Greene section, are expected to demonstrate at the hotel at a 9:00 A.M. rally sponsored by Parents On The Move."

"The organizers of the demonstration say that the emptying of welfare hotels will place more than half of the homeless families at the Brooklyn Arms in other shelters and sub-standard housing units in the city."

Who is eligible?

"Protest organizers said that the city plan to remove homeless families from the Brooklyn Arms by May. Although members of the Parents on The Move admit that some hotel residents will be relocated to permanent city owned housing, the majority of Brooklyn Arms families are not eligible for permanent housing under the city plan."

"Families want to leave the Brooklyn Arms, but for permanent, habitable apartments, and many feel the current time table and accompanying sanctions are political, punitive and impractical. A spokesman for the parents group said."

"Parents on the Move claim that 151 families, not eligible for the permanent housing plan, will be moved to other shelters or sub-standard housing apartments still under repair or lacking such necessities as stoves, refrigerators or beds; city officials refute these claims."

NEW YORK POST

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 1989

"FAMILY IS LEAVING HEARTBREAK HOTEL" by ESTHER PESSIN

"Yvette Dennis got a new lease on life when she heard that her family will finally move out of the infamous Brooklyn Arms Hotel."

"The 20 year-old mother has not had a real home in more than three years and the cold, violent, drug-infested welfare hotel in the Fort Greene section is no place to raise three kids."

"What took him so long (Koch), we're supposed to be one the richest places."

"Her children, Stevie 4, Crystal 2 and Katrina 1 are always getting sick because there's never enough heat at the Brooklyn Arms."

"Little Katrina got pneumonia and Stevie recently developed asthma," she said.

"Mice constantly scurry through the family's two rooms - for which she says the city pays \$3,800 a month."

"Dennis charged that many of the mothers who live at the Brooklyn Arms are "crack-heads and are forever fighting over drugs."

"Bleak as it is, the high school dropout's life was even worse before she moved into the Brooklyn Arms."

"Dennis was tossed out of her house in Laurelton, Queens when she was barely 17 and had two babies."

"Her husband - unemployed 23 year-old Kenneth Green, whom she met through a friend and married a year ago."

DAILY NEWS ARTICLE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1989

"WELFARE FILES GONE"

"200 TAKEN FROM HOTEL DURING SIT-IN" BY CHARLES SEATON

& JOSEPH McNAMARA

"The confidential files of 200 welfare families were swiped from the embattled Brooklyn Arms Hotel yesterday as a sit-in protest at the Fort Greene Hotel entered its second day."

"Some 100 people jammed the lobby to protest city plans to close the place and move the 250 welfare families elsewhere."

"At 2:30 A.M., police moved in and requested leaders of the protest in a room until officials of the city's Human Resources Administration could rescue welfare files that had been moved from an office into the lobby. Within a short time, HRA people left with what files they could salvage and cops departed."

"Yesterday, Christopher Jackson, Democratic District Leader in the 57th Assembly District, which includes Fort Greene, blasted the action of police. Its chilling to think that a city would send in a paramilitary force to deal with a Social Service problem, he said."

"Fort Greene Assemblyman, Roger Green, said, black and latino children represent the largest concentration of

homeless in the city, we're demanding decent and affordable housing for our children. I endorse the action of Parents of the Move".

"Isaura Ortis, 40, who lives with four children and a grandson in two rooms in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel, said the rooms cost \$3,400 a month."

"We would be better off if the city spent a little less money and gave us a better place to live," she said.

PARENTS ON THE MOVE RELEASE

"The Residents of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel, now referred to as Parents On The Move have organized themselves. They are one of the first groups of many more to come fighting for decent affordable permanent housing, and saying no to city run shelters. It's a shame that people in the richest country in the world have to be labeled, Homeless Welfare Families."

WE ARE NOT ASKING TO BE LABELED BUT TO BE HOUSED!

"The answer is not substandard housing, but decent affordable housing, permanent housing for low-income people. We have a right to housing, and education for our children. Housing that is economically, socially, racially integrated. We are asking District Leaders and all City Officials to get involved in the struggle for human rights."

"The following groups support Parents On The Move---
Homeless Clients Advisory Committee working to promote clients, rights in the city shelter Systems."

"So Homeless People Are Helping Themselves"

"HELP US HELP OURSELVES"

"JUDGE DELAYS MOVE FOR WELFARE FAMILIES"

DAILY NEWS ARTICLE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1989

"JUDGE BARES FAREWELL TO ARMS" BY RUBEN ROSARIO"

"A judge temporarily blocked the city yesterday, from proceeding with plans to remove 270 welfare families from the Brooklyn Arms hotel."

"Brooklyn Supreme Court Justice, William Bellard granted a request for a restraining order filed on behalf of displaced and homeless families are living at the Fort Greene hotel. The residents claim a city plan to relocate them by May 31, 1989 will force them into substandard housing."

"City officials say the protesters stole confidential files from a hotel office."

PARENTS ON THE MOVE!

TOGETHER!

TO: All the families of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel
FROM: Parents On The Move

Dear Folks,

"We have come a long way together! As you may know, Judge Bellard of the State Supreme Court, Brooklyn, banned ANY and ALL evictions of families from the hotel. The judge also said that the Van Program was to be entirely voluntary. We believe that HRA has violated the Court Order. Colin Moore, our attorney, is going back to court Friday morning to ask that HRA abides the Court Order."

"Meanwhile, all people who are entitled to be shown apartments, may ride the vans, if they choose to do so. These people are still part of Parents On the Move! Let's not let HRA divide us-- we all know that we have only come this far because we have all worked hard together!"

"We want decent, affordable, permanent housing for all the families of Brooklyn Arms! We must try to stay calm and stay together--only Judge Bellard can tell us how the city can help us find housing! We must wait until the first week in February for the Judge's ruling. We are Parents On The Move! Together! With our children, Together!"

NEW YORK TIMES

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1989

"HELPING THE EX-HOMELESS FURNISH A HOME BY SARA RIMER"

"one year after they lost their apartment and ended up in a single room at the Brooklyn Arms, Linda Adeyey and her five daughters are starting over."

"She said she had become homeless when she could no longer afford the escalating rent for her apartment in Crown Heights."

NEW YORK POST

MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1989

"THE MOM WHO WENT TO WAR FOR HOMELESS FAMILIES LIKE HER OWN"

"The bathroom light bulb burned night and day in Ruth Young's Bronx apartment because she feared the decrepit switch might electrocute one of her children."

"It was a nasty existence, but it was home. Until a Marshall came to the door and thrust Young and five of her kids into the ranks of the homeless."

"Young discovered in the cruelest way possible that dignity doesn't live in shelters. Pride can't be packed in a suitcase and used on the street."

"After she hit bottom, Young found her greatest strength. With the vocabulary of an activist and the zeal of a crusader, she organized the most powerless, downtrodden lot imaginable: Homeless Mothers."

"In symphony with her new found acquaintances, Young talked, argued, cajoled, yelled and fought for the rights of their children housed in the Brooklyn Arms Hotel."

"Slowly, reluctantly, people began to listen."

"P.S. 38 listened. Fully half of Brooklyn Arms Kids used to be shoved into Special Education classes - effectively labeled dummies from the start. That doesn't happen so much anymore. Some of them are even called gifted."

"The Parent-Teacher Association listened. Once it tried to throw out Young and company as they sat in on an officers election, now the homeless have a vote."

"The state listened to and authorized a \$92,000 grant for school computers."

"They all took heed of a message that was as simple as it was scary. This could happen to you. For Young was as surprised at becoming homeless as say a suburbanite with a two car garage would be."

"I never dreamed it would happen to me, but it did. Said Young, 39. Homelessness affects everyone from the highly educated to the most illiterate. It has no color barriers."

"Young has since moved into a 6 1/2 room Bronx apartment that she shares with her six kids, a son-in-law and a grandson. On Tuesday she will be honored by the Community Service Society of New York at a luncheon, and receive a \$20,000 grant."

"In a new Rochelle hospital room where she was being treated for lupus - my latest struggle - Young looked back at her life..."

Then came the eviction. After a day and a half at a shelter she describes as a concentration camp. Young's family moved into the homeless hotel."

"The most shocking thing about her surroundings were not the walls or the plumbing - but the people. Complacent and weary, they had just given up, and their children were getting the worst of it."

"They were left back in school unnecessarily, stigmatized by so-called professionals, said Young."

"Kids became the rally point for homeless moms, said Young. The children became a common ground."

"She resurrected a dormant organization, Parents On the Move. In the year and a half Young was at the hotel, she saw changes take hold."

"She now works as a paid organizer for the Housing Justice Campaign. With her \$20,000 grant, she plans to write about her life and take a trip to Africa."

"Then She'll return to her cramped apartment in the Bronx. It's not much, but it's home."

APPENDIX H

GLOSSARY

agency - 1. the capacity, condition, or state of acting or of exerting power: operation 2. a person or thing through which power is exerted or an end is achieved. 3. an administrative division (as of a government). (Webster's 1983)

almshouse - 1. a privately financed home for the poor 2. Archaic: Poorhouse. (Webster's, 1983) The Almshouse survived for a century and a half in the United States and its demise did not come until after World War II. In some small towns there will be road markers called "poverty lane" where the Almshouse once stood. In 1945, the Almshouse dominated public relief policy. (Beard, 1988, p. 11)

beggar - 1. a person who lives by begging; mendicant: a hungry old beggar asked everyone on the street for money to buy a cup of coffee. 2. a very poor person. (World Book, 1976)

change - 1. to make radically different : TRANSFORM (can't ~ human nature). c: to give a different position, course, or direction. (Webster's, 1983)

choice - 1. the act of choosing: selection 2: power of choosing option, the best part cream: a person or thing chosen, a sufficient number and variety to chose among (Webster's, 1983)

Civil Rights Movement - The black struggle was waged for two main goals. One was to secure formal political rights in the South, especially the right to the franchise; the other was to secure economic advances. (Piven & Cloward, 1979)

compulsion - 1a. An act of compelling: the state of being compelled, b. a force that compels 2: an irresistible impulse to perform an irrational act. (Webster's, 1983)

culture - The technological determinist argument is sometimes stated like this. Culture has two parts: (1) material culture (machines, tools, artifacts) and (2) nonmaterial or adaptive culture (ideas, knowledge, values, institutions). "Social maladjustments" stem from the fact that changes in material culture precede changes in nonmaterial culture--material culture changes at an exponential (ever-accelerating) rate while nonmaterial culture lags behind. The mores and folkways and institutions fail to adapt to the ever-increasing pile of new inventions. (272: Part IV) Cultural lag, the argument holds, is due to

many factors, but it is especially due to vested interests--the interests of those who stand to lose their preferred position by use of the new inventions. (273: pp. 525ff.) There is a better way to put the matter. Culture is a useful abstraction, not a pile of physical objects. It is a system of beliefs ("the world is round"), values ("equality of opportunity is morally right"), and expressive symbols (art forms) which governs man's relations to his fellow man and to his environment. It is passed on to new generations via communication. It consists of ideas shared by a group concerning the ways to act, think, and feel. (Wilensky & Lebeauxz, 1965)

dependency - 2: something that is dependent on something else; specific: a territorial unit under the jurisdiction of a nation but not formally annexed by it. (Webster's, 1983)

depression - (1) a state of feeling sad: DEJECTION (2): a psychoneurotic or psychotic disorder marked esp. by sadness, inactivity, difficulty in thinking and concentration, a significant increase or decrease in appetite and time spent sleeping, feelings of dejection and hopelessness, and sometimes suicidal tendencies 5: a period of low general economic activity marked esp. by rising levels of unemployment. (Webster's, 1983)

discontent - lack of contentment: a sense of grievance: b: restless aspiration for improvement. (Webster's 1983)

emancipation - the act or process of setting free from slavery of any kind; release: The emancipation of the slaves within any state in armed rebellion was proclaimed by President Lincoln in 1863. (Webster's, 1983)

family - All families are expected to meet certain responsibilities placed on them by the wider society and to provide for the basic needs of their members. The degree to which the family is able to meet these responsibilities and needs is a measure of family functioning. There is a general tendency in discussions of Negro families to focus on a very limited number of family functions--specifically, on the manner in which families are not functioning adequately. While this limitation is both understandable and necessary for specific studies, it often contributes to the distortions and excessively negative characterizations of Negro family life. Some family functions are essentially instrumental in character, serving to maintain the basic physical and social integrity of the family unit- e.g., the provision of food, clothing, shelter, and health care. Other functions are more expressive in character, designed to maintain and enhance the

socio-emotional relationships and feelings among family members. (Billingsley, 1968)

hobo -1: a migrant worker 2: a homeless and usu. penniless vagrant.

homelessness - Homelessness, defined by the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, is a condition of detachment from society characterized by the absence of attenuation of the affiliative bonds that link settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures. (Beard, 1988)

intemperance - lack of moderation or self control; excess; immoderation: 2 too much drinking of intoxicants. (Webster's, 1983)

involuntary - 1: done contrary to or without choice; 2: COMPULSORY; 3: not subject to control of the will: REFLEX. (Webster's, 1983)

organization - b.: an administrative and functional structure (as a business or a political party); also: the personnel of such a structure. (Webster's, 1983)

poverty - 1 a: the state of one who lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions b: renunciation as a member of a religious order of the right as an individual to own property (Webster's, 1983)

rebelliousness - given to or engaged in rebellion; of relating to, or characteristic of a rebel or rebellion: resisting treatment or management. (Webster's, 1983)

tramp - a foot traveler: a begging or thieving vagrant. (Webster's, 1983)

vagabond - moving from place to place without a fixed home. (Webster's, 1983)

vagrant - one who has no established residence and wanders idly from place to place without lawful or visible means of support. (Webster's, 1983)

voluntary - proceeding from one's own choice or consent. (Webster's, 1983)

wanderer - to move about without a fixed course, aim or goal. (Webster's, 1983)

APPENDIX I
STUDIES ON FAMILIES LIVING IN TEMPORARY HOUSING

Charkin, Kristal, Seaborn and Guigli conducted a study of homeless women reproductive experiences. The study groups consisted of (1) 401 homeless women living in New York City Hotels (2) 13,247 low-income women living in 219 low-income projects and (3) 241,558 other New York City women residents who delivered live born singletons during the study period 1/82 - 6/84.

The purpose of the study was to describe the homeless women residing in New York City hotels, reproductive experiences, so as to enable the Family Shelter Program to plan further programs development for this target population.

The method used to collect data was the birth certificate files and the infant linked birth-death certificate New York City record. Data extracted from these records included the following: (1) birth-weight, (2) maternal age, (3) parity, (4) race, (5) prenatal care (only data on total # of visits).

The results - demographic characteristics

(1) In 1982 approximately 7 births per month to over 23 per month in 1984 (women living in hotel)

(2) racial and ethnic distribution of hotel mothers and project mothers are similar, two-thirds black, one-quarter hispanic contrast citywide mothers evenly divided amongst three major racial ethnic groups

(3) age dissimilar three groups hotel mothers and project mothers more than (50% under 25 years), teenage births higher in project (30%), citywide mothers highest proportion 30 years (30%)

(4) parity distribution project and citywide were similar

(5) proportion of nulliparous women were much lower (20% of 40%) hotel mothers and proportion high parity (3+ children) larger (44% of 18%) than citywide mothers.

Prenatal Care

(1) hotel mothers significantly reported fewer prenatal care visits (0-3) compared to project mothers 22% and 15% of other city mothers; 68% citywide mothers had 7 or more visits 30% of hotel mothers had this level of prenatal care.

Birthweight

(1) mean birthweight hotel 2979g; lower than project 149g lower than citywide 276g (all pairwise comparisons $p < .01$).

(2) low rates (<2500g) very low (<1500g) birthweight delivery correspondingly highest in hotel, lowest citywide

(3) relative risks comparing project and hotel to citywide 1.54 and 2.18 respectively $p < .001$ very low birthweight 1.44 ($p < .001$) and 1.19 (NS) respectively.

Infant Mortality

(1) infant mortality highest hotel lowest citywide

(2) 10 infant deaths rate (24.9 per 1,000) single live births, significantly higher than project (16.6 per 1,000) citywide (12.0) per 1,000).

(3) corresponding relative risks comparing hotel and project to citywide 2.07 ($p < .001$) and 1.40 ($p < .001$) respectively. (p. 5)

Limitations of the study included some of the following:

(1) the 401 women who reported the hotel address on the birth certificate, were not the only women pregnant during some part of their hotel stay. Thus bias leads to under reporting which under estimates the differences between hotel and citywide mothers, (2) analysis is only on data recorded on the New York City vital records, (3) high relative risks of low birthweight and death presented cannot be attributed solely to living in a hotel, (4) distribution of major predictors are maternal age, race and paity was

generally difference between the three study groups. A strong point of study is that selected parameters such as birthweight and maternal age are reliable data and with a routine surveillance of reproductive experiences of this populations can be explored without extensive survey research. In conclusion these authors found that hotel policy states pregnant women and families with newborns are allowed refrigerators, an April 1984 survey revealed that only 8% actually had refrigerators. A low birthweight infant is in jeopardy with this disadvantage. The need for parental care at the hotel coordinated by the Department of Health is an option to consider, however, most importantly permanent adequate housing is needed. (p. 6)

CONTROL OVER HOTEL CIRCUMSTANCES
New York City Family Shelters, July-August 1985

HARD TO CONTROL HEALTH AT HOTEL

<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
Agree	253	72.9
Disagree	89	25.6
Refused	1	0.3
Unknown	4	1.2

PLANS RARELY WORK AT HOTEL

<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
Agree	260	74.9
Disagree	77	22.2
Refused	2	0.6
Unknown	7	2.0
Missing	1	0.3

NO CONTROL OVER WHAT HAPPENS AT HOTEL

<u>Percent</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
Agree	212	61.1
Disagree	121	34.9
Unknown	13	3.7

125

Missing

1

0.3

Bernstein (1984) conducted a survey study. The survey focused on homeless families social and demographic characteristics, public assistance status, health, length of stay at the shelter, public school enrollment of their school aged children. The survey was conducted over a two-week period. The participants lived in five of the New York City hotels and family centers: the Regent, Granada, Conca D'Oro, Colonial hotel and the Fox Street shelter. The investigation involved interviews with 347 adult homeless family members who volunteered to respond to the 6-page bilingual questionnaire. The findings were based on study participants reporting only.

Findings:

almost all families are black (62 percent black families) (35 percent Hispanic).

virtually all families received AFDC before becoming homeless, 4 out of 5 are headed by single high school drop-out mothers.

majority (75 percent) excellent, good health (adults, children).

(18 percent) adults and children recently had health problems, over half of the problems are due to accidents, general problems included bronchitis, flu, asthma, fever and high blood pressure.

over half had been homeless more than 7 months (December 1983).

30 percent had lost their homes less than 4 months ago.

17 percent were homeless between 4 and 6 months

1 out of 4 had moved from another shelter to the current.

85 percent reported regular attendance of school-age children.

10 percent attended school irregularly

5 percent have not attended school since arriving at the shelter.

The author reported that a demographic study was conducted on homeless youths housed in the shelter system. The findings of the homeless youth study indicated that there is a similarity to the findings of the study of adult members of homeless families. The two study groups are (1) mostly minority, (2) high school dropouts, (3) need affordable housing. The homeless youths were dissimilar to the homeless adults in the following ways: (1) history of mental health problem, (2) contact with criminal justice system (3) placement in foster care systems. (p. 6)

Bernstein (1989) conducted a longitudinal study of homeless families living at six New York City hotels and one family center. The study sites were in Manhattan, The Crown, Holland, Carter, Martingue, Traveler's and Bayview Hotel. The study sites were randomly selected from the twenty two city hotels and family shelters which were servicing more than twenty five homeless families during 1984 in their individual facilities. The study site selections were stratified to reflect proportionate hotel and family center numbers of large and small facilities throughout the metropolitan area. The purpose of the study was to explore in some depth the circumstances and reasons

for the families' homelessness, socio-demographic characteristics, public assistance, employment histories, rate of return to permanent housing, service needs, and their family and support systems. The study group consisted of a cohort of 196 homeless families. The families were tracked over a six-month period, and were interviewed by office of program evaluation personnel during March and April 1984. Data reflecting families securing apartments was traced from the Crisis Intervention service automated client data, and the Income Maintenance Inquiry system. (p. 1)

Findings:

Fire or other disaster (27.8 percent) of families forced out by primary tenant (20.6), eviction for non-payment of rent (20.1 percent), bad housing (17.0 percent), vacate order by fire, health or housing department (10.8 percent) domestic violence, crime, vandalism, eviction due to overcrowding, recent arrival in New York City were less frequently cited.

majority of families black (67 percent) Hispanic (27 percent)

average family included 3 children, 1 adult, (30 percent) families 2 or more adults, CIS statistics show family size 3.6 persons during March and April 1984

estimate (57 percent) of families received public assistance over 5 years, over half of families reported that all or some of close relatives, maternal parents, siblings were on public assistance over half the adults had not worked for the last 5 years those who had reported working lost jobs by either being laid off, quit or were fired (41 percent) other family problems (15 percent) pregnant (13 percent)

about (20 percent) adults, (11 percent) children reported hospitalizations during the past 5 years. Most often mentioned problems - heart, blood pressure, respiratory, accidents

virtually all families received food stamps, medicaid, (10 percent) received day care, mothers deplored not having day care, the feeling was that housing employment, training could be sought with this free time.

six months after interviewing (37 percent) no longer in temporary housing, (29 percent) moved to new apartments, (8 percent) could not be determined (87 percent) families have close relatives in New York City: parents, siblings, children's fathers, cousins are not able to shelter or give money median age of dependent child 6 years adult 27 years

(76 percent) family members native New Yorkers (50 percent) homeless mothers native New Yorkers midtown Manhattan (33.9 percent) mothers 24 and under residential neighborhood (Brooklyn & Queens)

(19.2 percent) mothers 24 and under

(72.7 percent) youngest child 6 or under midtown

(53.7 percent) youngest child 6 or under residential Brooklyn, Queens (pp. 2-4)

Eldredge (1985) concluded that observed differences among hotels and their various characteristics of client population effected the rate of return to permanent housing, for example Manhattan hotels - The Crown, Carter, Holland, Martinque is 69.5 percent, with mothers 33.9 percent 24 and under. The rate of return for the three residential areas (i.e., the Bayview Hotel and the Amboy Street Family Center in Brooklyn and in Queen's the Traveler's Hotel (50 percent) respectively with mothers 19.2 percent 24 and under. The Manhattan hotels have younger mothers with young children, where as facilities in both Brooklyn and Queens are residential with an older population. The age of the homeless mother was the only variable found predictive of the length of stay in a family shelter or hotel. However, the Human Resources Administration does not have a policy

which steers a family to any given hotel based on family characteristics. (pp. 1-3)

Bradstock (1986) conducted a survey on homeless women living in four New York City hotels: Martinque, Brooklyn Arms, Prince George and the Holland Hotel. The purpose of the study was to obtain data on (1) substance use among women living in family shelter hotels, (2) homeless women's knowledge of the effects of substance use during pregnancy (3) attitudes toward pregnancy and homelessness that might influence substance use among these women. (p. 1)

The study was conducted in July and August 1985. The materials and methods used were as follows: (1) interviews were conducted by a team of 12 trained health department staff members (2) standardized questionnaires were conducted on Monday and Tuesday for eight weeks with 347 participants in their rooms, during daylight hours only (3) the questionnaire was field tested with an independent sample and revised based on interviews conducted spring 1985. (P.8)

This study was basically undertaken in response to the study conducted by Chaukin, Kristal, Seaborn and Guigli (1984). The birth certificate data was unreliable in reporting mothers substance abuse, and the prevalence of substance abuse in metropolitan hotels. (P.7)

Some of the results were:

Results demographic characteristics

71% black
 28% hispanic
 more than 90% were between 18 and 40 years
 majority single

Circumstances surrounding Homeless

35% eviction or termination of lease
 18% building condemned
 11% family problem
 9% fire
 2% battered

Alcohol use

58% reported ever using alcohol
 20% drank less than once a month
 62% drank one to two times per week
 15% drank more than twice per week
 6% daily drinking
 3% refused or were unable to estimate

Drug Use

50% used marijuana
 14% pills or other types of drugs

Pregnancy status and smoking

pregnant women 66 percent
 no-pregnant (or did not know) 77 percent
 reported decreased amount pregnant 42%
 non-pregnant 28 reported decrease

Pregnancy status and drinking

pregnant less likely 45 percent
 non-pregnant (or did not know) 62 percent
 reported one drink per occasion 41 percent
 non-pregnant one drink per occasion 18 percent
 pregnant less drinking since hotel arrival 32 percent
 non-pregnant less drinking since hotel arrival 28
 percent binge drinking 5 or more drinks pregnant 59
 percent women binge drinking 5 or more drinks
 non-pregnant 42 percent. (p. 12)

Perception of hotel conditions and pregnancy

52 percent (more than half) felt hotel life

"wears a person down" rather than
 "makes a person stronger"

significantly more likely
 substance abuse smoking
 heavy drinking 81 percent

90 percent knowledge health effects
smoking, drinking while pregnant (p. 13)

Attitudes toward pregnancy health at hotel
89 percent felt they could take care of health
pregnancy needs

63 percent felt they could not do much to help the
baby's health

84 percent felt pregnancy related-health is preventable
(p. 15)

Limitations of this study included:

(1) prevalence estimates are based on self-reporting
basically alcohol use is under reported by 30 to 50 percent
in the U.S. sales,

(2) drug use is illegal thus under reporting,

(3) sampling bias-women in their rooms might be
significantly different during interview schedule than
women with this same behavior out of their rooms,

(4) attitudinal items need modification to fit
particular circumstances of survey. (p. 17)

In conclusion the data suggests (1) physical conditions
in the hotels need to be addressed (2) facilitate women's
ability to foster good health practice (3) reduce and
isolation which these women are confronted with due to
homelessness. (p. 23)

Hagen (1987) conducted an exploratory study about
homeless families and individuals requesting services from a
centralized intake service. The purpose of the study was to
examine the diversity of service needs and multiple reasons
for homelessness as experienced by this population. The
study was conducted December 1984. The data was taken from

227 intake cases obtained by the Professional personnel agency. The intake information reflected client characteristics (1) age, (2) sex, (3) race, (4) needs for services and (5) reasons for homelessness.

Findings

- . (85 percent) individuals
- . (13 percent) families
- . (53 percent) homeless men
- . (47 percent) homeless women

- . (39 percent) ranged from 22 to 35 years
- . (25 percent) ranged from 36 to 64 years

Women . (26.6 percent) ranged from 35-64 years

Men . (24.8 percent) ranged from 17-21 years

Race sample predominately white

- . (64 percent)
- . local residents (66 percent)

Reasons for Homelessness

(42 percent) unemployment

(53 percent) public assistance

(33.6 percent) interpersonal relations

(13.2 percent - men) (11 percent) previous
psychiatric hospitalization

(8.9 percent - women) (6 percent) currently receiving
psychotropic medications

Needs for services

most immediate shelter

food

intensive relational services

a. counseling

b. case management

c. transitional - supportive living environments

Gender differences

homeless women long term

local residents (74.7 percent)

(57.5 percent) area more than six months homeless - one
half

local and one third in areas more than six month's fewer women (unexpected finding) (77.6 percent women) (92.1 percent men)

Earned income from: homeless women employment (18.9 percent)

homeless men (8.4 percent)

Unemployment men (50.5 percent)

Unemployment women (34.4 percent)

Evicted women (15.2 percent)

Evicted men (4.5 percent)

Domestic violence (11.1 percent)

(9.0 percent)

Jail (75.0 percent)

two-thirds of alcohol abuse

(63 percent) runaway or throwaway youth men

(62 percent) unemployed men.

Some limitations included (1) the procedure of intake, whereby categories were not in rank order, thus limited data analysis, (2) sampling procedure only participants requesting services were included those who did not request services were excluded.

In conclusion the findings indicate that men and women experience homelessness differently. The reasons for homelessness showed the greatest difference.

APPENDIX J
WRITTEN CONSENT FORM

To participate in this study

I am a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, School of Education, Organization Development Concentration. The subject of my research is the homeless. I am interviewing former residents of the Brooklyn Arms Hotel. They were members of a grass roots organization Parents on the Move. The purpose is to better understand their homelessness from their experiences, and perspectives concerning the success or failure of their organization, "Parents on the Move".

As a part of this study you are asked to participate in a two hour in-depth interview, and a possible follow-up interview. Aside from initial questions designed to obtain biographical data, the interview will be informal and conversational, and will focus on your personal insights, experiences, and meanings that homelessness hold for you.

Each interview will be audiotaped and transcribed. Information given that is not related to the subject will be protected, and not used in the final document. Transcripts will have initials for those names mentioned, the names of people you mentioned will not be used. The final document will use pseudonyms.

As a researcher, I will analyze the raw data from your interviews for the purposes of a better understanding of your experiences and insight into the research questions. In addition to my dissertation, I may use some of the interview data for journal articles, presentations, instructional purposes, or a book. I will make a profile in your own words as a part of the analytical process. You will be given full recognition for any ideas and insights which are uniquely yours. I retain all rights to the audiotapes and transcripts, and will destroy such information after the study is completed.

"You may withdraw from this research study at any time". If there are changes for the use of material you will be notified, and asked to sign another consent form. In signing this form you are stating that there will be no financial claims for the use of data from your interviews, and no medical treatment will be required by you from the University of Massachusetts should any physical injury occur while participating in the interview.

I, _____ have read all the
statements contained on this form and agree to participate
as an
interviewee under the stated conditions.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Interviewer

Date

Witness

Date

APPENDIX K
INTERVIEW GUIDE

Date _____ Time _____
Place _____

Biographical Data

Name _____
Age _____

Current
Address _____

Previous
Address _____

How many children _____

Do you receive public assistance? yes _____ no _____

Education

Did you complete high school? yes _____ no _____

What grades? _____

What is your
religion? _____

Background Information

-If and what ways did you experience homelessness as a problem?

-How did you become homeless

-etc.

Meaning

-Why was there a need for the organization Parents on the Move?

-Your definition of Parents on the Move?

-Your impression of hotel living?

- Single most distinguishing aspect of the organization?
- etc.

Perceptions

- What do you think the purpose of the organization was?
- Did you know that the organization existed?
- Did P.O.M. help you and your family?
- Did you perceive the organization as a success or failure?
- etc.
- How would you summarize your philosophy about grass roots organizations?
- etc.

Consequences

- What impact has homelessness had on your grass roots organization?
- What impact do you predict homelessness will have on people in New York City?
- etc.

Closure

- Are there any questions you'd like to ask me?
- Permission to follow-up-----
- etc.

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